Rhodesian English in London

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by

Lenka Ulzega

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Prof. Dr. Daniel Schreier, main advisor

Prof. Dr. Marianne Hundt

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“The pattern of settlement in Rhodesia is reminiscent of waves washing over the foreshore. Each successive wave blurred or erased some of the old imprints and left new impressions.”

(Campbell, 1965: 182)

Abstract

This thesis focuses on Rhodesian English, an L1 English variety that emerged as a result of colonialism in the territory of today's Zimbabwe. Firstly, this thesis seeks to offer a reconstruction of the linguistic history of Rhodesian English and to assess the role of exogenous and endogenous factors in its formation. As Rhodesian English is a result of dialect contact, its evolution is viewed in the light of the theoretical frameworks proposed for the emergence of new English varieties in colonial contexts (Trudgill 2004; Schneider 2007). The study investigates to what extent dialect contact processes described as universal may be applied to Rhodesian English. The analysis confirms that when investigating dialect contact processes attention needs to be paid to the specificity of the locality in which they emerge.

Further focus is on one of the sub-varieties of Rhodesian English, namely, the Rhodesian English spoken by the expatriate community of white ex-Rhodesians in London. Due to the changes in the socio-political situation following Independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has lost the majority of the white population that had been present in the territory since 1890. The white ex-Rhodesians have resettled in various, especially Anglophone, countries such as the United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia or New Zealand. As a result, Rhodesian English is nowadays spoken mostly in the diaspora. The thesis presents data from an acoustic analysis of the vowel system of Rhodesian English in London. The data used in this research come from sociolinguistic interviews carried out with white ex-Rhodesians living in London. The analysis is primarily descriptive and, to a lesser degree, comparative as the results yielded by the acoustic analysis are viewed against data available from previous impressionistic analysis of Rhodesian English. The small size of the corpus does not allow for broad generalisations; rather, the aim is to provide a first insight into the vowel system of Rhodesian English in London spoken by ex-Rhodesians who emigrated after Independence.

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Acronyms

AusE	Australian English
BSAC	British South African Company
EFL	English as a foreign language
ENL	English as a native language
ESL	English as a second language
ETEs	Extraterritorial Englishes
FIE	Falkland Island English
LKVE	Lesser-known varieties of English
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NZE	New Zealand English
ONZE	Origins of New Zealand English
PCEs	Post-colonial Englishes
RAF	Royal Air Force
RF	Rhodesian Front
RhodE	Rhodesian English
RP	Received pronunciation
SA	South Africa
SOSBW	Society for the Oversee Settlement of British Women
STL	Settler speech community
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
WhKE	White Kenyan English
WhZimE	White Zimbabwean English
WSAfE	White South African English
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People’s Union

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

The colonial expansion of the British Empire between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries contributed to the spread of English to various locations overseas, where English has diversified and developed into new varieties. By and large, the resettlement to extraterritorial locations led to scenarios in which the mixing of different geographical and social dialects and contact with other languages resulted in the emergence of new colonial Englishes. Since the 1980s there has been a growing body of research focusing on the study of such varieties; however, a more systematic study of colonial Englishes emerged only recently. In 1991 Kytö (1991: 186), for instance, observes that "extraterritorial varieties of English is a field of study still largely neglected by the mainstream of historical Anglicists". Initially, colonial English varieties were mostly studied in isolation and viewed as the results of unique circumstances. The earlier work on this subject focused mainly on features that were unique to particular varieties with little consideration given to shared features (Bailey & Görlach 1982; Kachru 1986, 1992; Trudgill & Hannah 1982; Wells 1982; Platt, Weber & Ho 1984). This was also reflected in the categorisation, the basis for which was typically the role assumed by English in a given country. Recent research has, however, aimed to compare features across new Englishes and to concentrate on the commonalities that exist among these varieties (Schneider, Burridge, Kortmann, Mesthrie & Upton 2004; Trudgill 2004; Mair 2006; Schneider 2007; Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008). Contact dialectology investigates, among other aspects, language change that takes place in colonial settings and is characterised by extensive long-term contact. Focusing mainly on the evolutionary processes, researchers involved in contact studies have observed that, despite the dissimilar historical, social and linguistic conditions in the new locations, there are certain fundamentally uniform processes which shaped the new varieties. Subsequently, contact-based models that seek to explain the formation of new English varieties in colonial settings have been proposed (Schneider 2003, 2007; Trudgill 2004).

In the past, research of new Englishes was typically restricted to Inner-Circle varieties, Englishes from the Outer- and Expanding-Circles started to be studied more systematically only recently (Kortmann, Schneider, Mesthrie & Burridge 2004). In 2002, Trudgill points out that there are many varieties spoken in minor Anglophone locations which have not been extensively researched and documented. He terms these the "lesser-known varieties of English" (LKVEs) (Trudgill 2002). Trudgill (ibid.: 44) argues that the systematic study of LKVEs could contribute to a better understanding of important sociolinguistic and linguistic developments in general and thus be beneficial for contact linguistics.

A recent field of interest includes research into such minority English varieties. Schreier (2013) points out that since 2002 numerous under-researched varieties have received attention and have, at least to some extent, been documented and described (Watts & Trudgill 2002; Schreier, Trudgill, Schneider & Williams 2010; Williams, Schneider, Trudgill & Schreier 2015). In general, LKVEs share the following characteristics: (1) they are typically spoken by minorities, delimitated to small communities embedded into larger population ecology as first languages; (2) many were transmitted by settler communities or adopted by newly-formed social communities that emerged early in the colonial era and are therefore derived from British inputs; (3) they are products of dialect and/or language contact and often function as identity carriers for their respective communities; (4) they are often endangered (Schreier, Trudgill, Schneider & Williams, 2010: 4). Schreier (2013) also views the study and documentation of LKVEs as beneficial for contact linguistics. He suggests testing the theoretical frameworks proposed for the development and stabilisation of new English varieties on LKVEs. This, he believes, could contribute to a clearer understanding both of the formation processes and of contact-induced language change in general, and potentially lead to the refinement of such frameworks (Schreier, 2013: 153). Schreier (ibid.) observes that the main advantage of LKVEs with respect to many larger and more widely known varieties is that the social histories are often well documented and allow for more in-depth study. Another advantage is the relative newness of these varieties, a factor that may facilitate the investigation of contact-induced change (ibid.). Finally, further research could also provide the answer to the question as to whether it is possible to classify LKVEs through the existing frameworks aiming to explain the formation of new varieties in colonial settings or whether these need to be revised to include such varieties (ibid.: 164).

The focus of this study is on one such lesser-known variety, Rhodesian English (RhodE), as is spoken by the expatriate community of white ex-Rhodesians in London. RhodE belongs to the category of Southern Hemisphere Englishes and is said to bear a close resemblance to White South African English (WSAfE) (Wells 1982; Lass 2002). In 1982 Wells points out that the L1 English variety that originated in the territory of today's Zimbabwe had never been studied systematically. Since then, the only existing research, to my knowledge, is a pioneering study by Fitzmaurice (2010), who offers the first linguistic description of this variety. RhodE originated following colonisation in 1890. During colonial rule between 1890 and 1980 the steady influx of Anglophone settlers, mainly from Britain and South Africa, slowly increased the size of the white community. Thus, this variety is predominantly a result of dialect contact. Nevertheless, in the 1970s, at its peak, the white community in Rhodesia still numbered only 250,000 and was, in comparison to approximately six million Africans, in the clear minority. Although numerically small, the white population assumed a privileged position in the society and dominated the native population.

From the mid-1960s, as a result of the socio-political changes which eventually led to Independence, large numbers of white Rhodesians began to leave the country. Independence, attained by Rhodesia in 1980, brought colonial rule to an end and Rhodesia officially ceased to exist. The post-Independence period saw a further increase in white emigration; this eventually resulted in the fragmentation of the white Rhodesian community. The most common emigrant destinations among the white Rhodesians were Anglophone countries such as South Africa, the United Kingdom, the USA, Australia or New Zealand. Fitzmaurice (2010) estimates that RhodE is spoken in the diaspora by approximately 60,000 speakers, ex-Rhodesians and white Zimbabweans who left the country between 1965 and 2000. Nowadays, the main contact among ex-Rhodesians takes place in cyberspace, where memories of Rhodesia are kept alive.

Since RhodE is no longer spoken by a permanent speech community, it may be described as a fossilised dialect (Fitzmaurice, 2010: 272). Further, it appears that RhodE is an endangered and rapidly receding variety, as the children of ex-Rhodesians in the diaspora typically acquire the local dialects. Nevertheless, there is still a relatively small group of whites present in Zimbabwe. The dialect spoken by this community is referred to as White

Zimbabwean English (WhZimE) and it is a productive and changing variety (Fitzmaurice, 2010: 263).

1.2. Aims of the research

The aim of the study is twofold. The first objective is to reconstruct the development of RhodE within the context of the evolution of new English varieties in colonial settings. This is achieved by a thorough analysis of the contact situation, which is hoped will shed light on the genesis of RhodE. Further, the question is whether, or to what extent, RhodE may be integrated into the current models proposed for the evolution of new English varieties in colonial contexts (Trudgill 2004; Schneider 2007). The second aim of the study is to describe the phonology of one of the sub-varieties of RhodE spoken in the diaspora, namely, RhodE in London. Since the features of the accent, especially the realisation of vowels, appear to be the most noticeable with respect to other English accents, the study focuses on the variety's vowel system. The data used in the current research come from the first-diaspora generation of ex-Rhodesians who emigrated to London in the post-Independence period between 1995 and 2008. The study involves twelve subjects, educated members of both sexes, representing two generations. Their speech will be subject to an acoustic analysis that focuses on the quality of six short (KIT, DRESS, TRAP, STRUT, LOT, FOOT) and five long (FLEECE, GOOSE, THOUGHT, BATH, NURSE) monophthongs. Finally, the results of the acoustic vocalic analysis will be viewed against the available impressionistic data (Fitzmaurice 2010) in order to establish what differences and similarities exist in the diasporic context in London. The research questions, therefore, are the following:

1. To investigate the origins and evolution of RhodE in the light of the theoretical frameworks proposed for the formation of new English varieties in colonial contexts;

2. To carry out an acoustic phonetic analysis of the vowel system of RhodE spoken in London and to compare the results with the existing impressionistic RhodE data.

It is hoped that by providing both an account of the variety's evolution and the description of the vowel system of one sub-variety of RhodE, the current research will contribute to a broader understanding of a variety of English that is barely documented.

1.3. Organisation of the study

The thesis consists of six chapters. Following the introduction, Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework by reviewing the existing literature and research that generate the research questions addressed in this thesis. First, it briefly introduces the topic of world Englishes and focuses on the historical background of the spread of English to overseas locations during the colonial period. Next, the chapter turns to two widely used conceptualisation and categorisation frameworks applied in order to describe the spread of English, namely, the ENL/ESL/EFL distinction and Kachru's (1985) Three Circles model. The focus then moves to the topic of evolution of colonial Englishes; the monogenetic *vs*. polygenetic theories are discussed. Next, two models which seek to explain the shared developmental trajectories of colonial Englishes are reviewed: Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation and Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model. Since both models build on Mufwene's (2001) theory of language restructuring in contact situations, this is reviewed first. Chapter Two further addresses the fundamental issue raised in the frameworks: the role of social forces in the formation of new colonial Englishes. Further, as the ex-Rhodesian community in London is referred to as diasporic in this thesis, after defining the term "diaspora", the question of linguistic change in diasporic situations is addressed. The remainder of the chapter aims to situate RhodE within a wider context of native Englishes spoken in southern and eastern Africa by briefly considering the role and status of L1 varieties spoken by other settler communities in this territory, namely, in Botswana, Kenya and Namibia. It then turns to the numerically most dominant L1 variety, WSAfE, which is said

to have influenced the shape of RhodE (Wells 1982; Lass 2002). Chapter Two concludes with a description of the RhodE vowels based on Fitzmaurice's (2010) impressionistic study.

Chapter Three details the methodological approach adopted in the study. It begins by describing the process of the initial contact with the Rhodesian community in London and the selection of informants. Next, additional information about the informants is provided and the process of collection of the sociolinguistic interviews is outlined. The chapter is further concerned with the methods that followed the data collection, namely, the processes of measurement, normalisation, plotting and analysis adopted. Finally, information about the source of data from the other English accents used in this study is provided and the system employed for the description of vowels is briefly explained.

Given that language change occurs in a social context, Chapter Four sets out to outline the socio-historical and linguistic setting in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. After providing a brief outline of Zimbabwe's geography and topography, it moves on to assess the current linguistic situation in the territory. The chapter then gives an account of relevant socio-historical considerations during colonial rule between 1890 and 1980, with particular focus on demographic trends among the white population. Attention is further paid to the post-Independence developments, particularly white emigration in this period. Next, the focus moves to the topic of social contacts between the different ethnic groups in the territory of today's Zimbabwe. The chapter proceeds to address the issue of the construction of new identities among the white settlers and also provides a short outline of the Rhodesian education system of both the white and the black communities. It is hoped that this chapter will offer the necessary background about the contact ecology against which the evolution of RhodE may be viewed.

Chapter Five provides a detailed account and interpretation of the findings of the study. The findings are discussed with reference to the research questions and viewed in the light of the information presented in Chapters Two and Four. In the first section of Chapter Five, attempts are made to explore the role of dialect and language contact in the evolution of RhodE. Further, the developmental phases and the linguistic processes that took place during the formation of RhodE are assessed. Before moving to the results of the acoustic analysis, an account of the white Rhodesian community in London, based on information gathered during the fieldwork, is provided. The next section comprises the findings of the

acoustic analysis. The vowel inventory of RhodE in London is described with reference to RP (received pronunciation) acoustic data provided by Deterding (1997). A vowel-by-vowel analysis is offered, firstly, for individual speakers, then for the entire group of female and male informants, respectively. In the last section, a comparison between the results of the current acoustic data and the impressionistic RhodE (Fitzmaurice 2010) is drawn.

Chapter Six summarises the findings and relates these to the research questions. In addition, the limitations of the study are stated and suggestions for further research are outlined.

2. Theoretical framework

2.0. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical framework for the current study. Section 2.1 provides an overview of the spread of English and shows two models designed to describe this phenomenon, the ENL/ESL/EFL and the Three Circles model (Kachru 1985). Section 2.2 discusses the monogenetic and polygenetic theories proposed for the origins of colonial English varieties with a focus on the Southern Hemisphere. The chapter then proceeds to consider the complexity of processes associated with the formation of new English varieties. Section 2.2.1 outlines the theoretical framework of language restructuring in contact situations as proposed by Mufwene (1996, 2001). The chapter moves on to provide an account of two models proposed for the evolution of new Englishes in colonial settings, which are Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model (Section 2.2.2) and Trudgill's (2004) new-dialect formation model (Section 2.2.3) both of which draw on Mufwene's (1996, 2001) theory. Section 2.2.4 deals with the fundamental issue raised in these frameworks, namely, the role of linguistic and social forces in the formation of such varieties. The concept of diaspora and the importance of diasporic situations for language variation and change are topics addressed in Section 2.3. Section 2.4 aims to place RhodE into the wider context of native Englishes in southern and eastern Africa. Following a brief sketch of the L1 English varieties spoken in the territory, attention turns to WSAfE, to which RhodE is said to bear a close resemblance. Finally, results from previous perception analysis of the vowel quality of RhodE are summarised in Section 2.4.1. A brief summary of this chapter is offered in Section 2.5.

2.1. The Spread of English

Before 1600 English, as a native language, was spoken in a rather small geographical area in England and in the south and east of Scotland. Eventually, it began to spread to other,

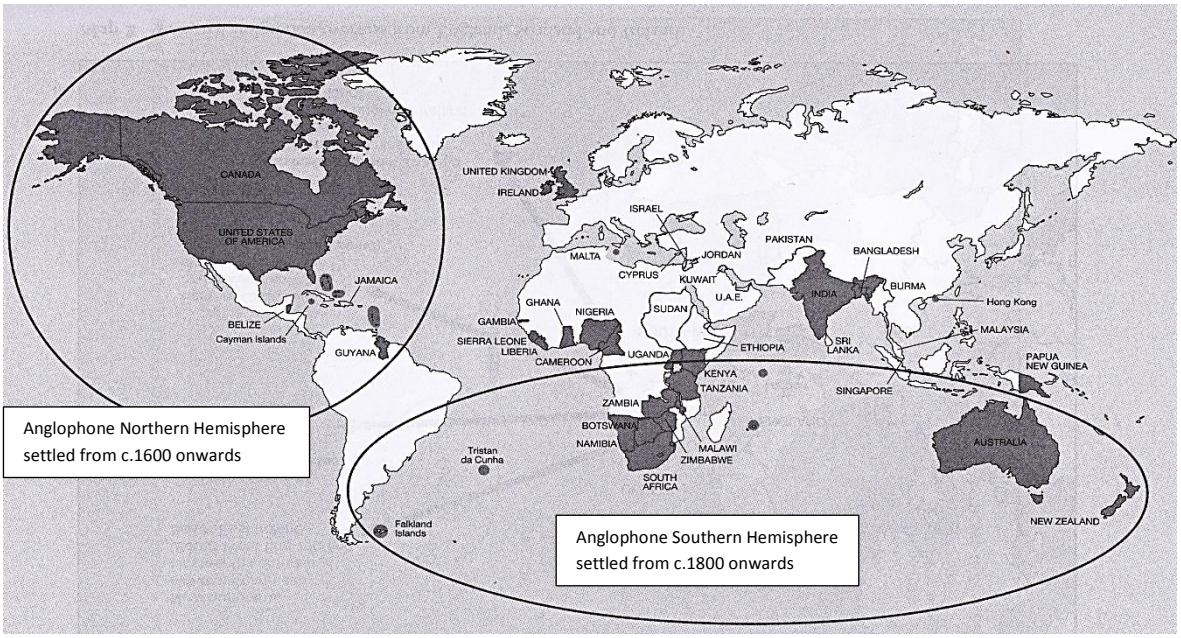
previously non-English speaking territories within the British Isles, where it replaced the Celtic languages. After 1600, mainly as a result of colonisation, conquest and trade, English started to be transported to numerous overseas locations. In the last fifty years globalisation has caused the further spread of English to the rest of the world. It is today the most widely used language in the world in terms of the number of countries where it is the first or second language, or the main foreign language taught at schools. According to estimates by Crystal (2008: 5), English is spoken by approximately 350-380 million native speakers, 300-600 million competent second-language learners and 500-1,500 million learners.

In order to describe the spread of English around the globe, Kachru and Smith (2008: 5) suggest a four-diaspora system. The first diaspora covered the expansion of English throughout the British Isles to Wales, Scotland and Ireland, where it supplanted the local languages. The second diaspora involved the movement of substantial numbers of English speakers beyond the confines of the British Isles and resulted in the foundation of British colonies in North America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. This particular dispersal took place in two main waves, according to which varieties of English can be divided by their location. The first wave lasted from the end of the sixteenth until the early eighteen century and resulted in the expansion of the British Empire to North America, the Bahamas, Bermuda, and the Caribbean. The second wave followed between 1780 and 1840; it led to the establishment of colonies in the Southern Hemisphere. As a result, new English varieties (known as Southern Hemisphere Englishes) emerged in Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Tristan da Cunha, St Helena or the Falkland Islands. The formation of the major Southern Hemisphere Englishes can be dated as follows: Australian English (AusE): 1800-1840 (Cochrane 1989), New Zealand English (NZE): 1840-1880 (Trudgill 1986), and White South African English (WSAfE): 1820-1860 (Lanham 1996). Thus, in comparison to the Northern Hemisphere varieties (in the West Indies, India, or North America), the Southern Hemisphere Englishes are considerably younger, showing a maximum time depth of approximately 200 years. In fact, the beginning of the Anglophone settlement in Australia coincides with the end of the colonial period in the United States of America. The relative newness is an asset in the investigation of the origins of these varieties, allowing for a more comprehensive study. The main advantage is that information about the original dialect sources and also about settlement patterns is often available. It is considerably more problematic to trace the

processes that resulted in the formation of the Northern Hemisphere varieties, which are older.

The different times of settlement of the two hemispheres account also for the differences and similarities between the varieties of English in the respective overseas locations. One characteristic feature of Southern Hemisphere Englishes is their relative homogeneity. Bernard (1981: 20) assigns this homogeneity to similar dialect input; he asserts that "the same ingredients of the mixing bowl were very much the same, and at different times and in different places the same process was carried out and the same end point achieved". In line with this claim Trudgill (2004: 20) argues that if "you bake cakes […] from roughly the same ingredients in roughly the same proportions in roughly similar conditions for roughly the same length of time, you will get roughly similar cakes". According to Trudgill (2004) one of the principles responsible for the similarities between the various Southern Hemisphere Englishes is the so-called colonial lag. It is "a lag or delay, which lasts for about one generation, in the normal progression and development of linguistic change" (Trudgill, 2004: 34). Another principle is language drift, according to which the varieties deriving from a common source share tendencies or propensities for change and therefore some parallel developments may be observed even following their geographical separation (Trudgill, 2004: 132). The linguistic similarity stems from the following phonetic characteristics shared by the standard Southern Hemisphere varieties: [æ] or a higher vowel in TRAP, distinctive vowels in FOOT and STRUT, distinctive vowel length and quality in TRAP and BATH, and length contrast in *cat* versus *cad* (Lass, 1995: 91). Further, Southern Hemisphere Englishes are in general non-rhotic. A shared characteristic prosodic feature is a rising intonation at the end of statements. With respect to grammar, although certain syntactic variation can be observed in the Southern Hemisphere varieties, the features do not seem to be markedly different from features in other Englishes (Gordon & Sudbury, 2002: 85).

Figure 2.1: The division of the Anglophone world according to the time of settlement



Source: Hickey (2014: iv)

Coming back to Kachru's and Smith's (2008) four-diaspora division, in the third diaspora English was taken by relatively small numbers of speakers to various locations in South Asia, East Asia or Africa. Consequently, English is spoken in countries such as India, Nigeria, Singapore or the Philippines. Most English-based pidgins and creoles emerged during this period. Unlike the varieties stemming from the second diaspora, these Englishes show greater influence of the indigenous languages with which they came into contact in the new locations (Deterding, 2010: 386). Finally, the fourth diaspora made English into a global language and resulted in the fact that it is currently spoken in locations that were not formerly British colonies and where there were no native speakers of English necessarily present (Kirkpatrick, 2010: 74). Examples of countries comprised in the fourth diaspora are China, Japan, Korea, Brazil, Germany and Saudi Arabia (Kachru & Smith, 2008: 5).

As demonstrated above, migration can have far-reaching sociolinguistic consequences for the populations of the old as well as the new speech community. Due to migration, which can lead to linguistic contact, different kinds of English have emerged in different locations around the world.

2.1.1. Categorising World Englishes

A range of terms is used to refer to Englishes that resulted from the diasporas described above. The most encompassing and neutral appears to be “World Englishes”, which includes all varieties spoken around the world. Besides British English, the term may be applied, for instance, to New Zealand English, Nigerian English and Malaysian English. Thus, it covers L1 varieties and L2 varieties, as well as *lingua franca* varieties. It indicates that these varieties, however different, may be regarded as a part of a wider complex. Another broadly used label is “new Englishes”. This term is narrower, as it refers only to varieties which resulted from the second diaspora and are spoken in the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (Jenkins, 2009: 22). A further term introduced by Platt *et al.* (1984: 2-3) is “New Englishes”. It is reserved for non-L1 varieties that have developed through education in areas where a native variety of English was not spoken by a majority of the population. Examples are second language varieties spoken in Africa and Asia, such as Nigerian, Indian, Singaporean and Philippine English. In 1987 Lass introduced another term: “Extraterritorial Englishes” (ETEs). It has become widely used to refer collectively to English varieties which have spread to new homelands. Lass (1987) suggests a further division into the categories of mother tongue and contact ETEs, where the former are L1 varieties of mainland English which evolved without major structural influence from other languages, whereas the latter subtype encompasses L2 Englishes as well as English-based pidgins and creoles (Lass, 1990: 247).

A different theoretical approach is exemplified in the more recently introduced label “Postcolonial Englishes” (PCEs) (Schneider 2003). Emphasising the origins of such varieties, it is applied to forms of English that are “products of a specific evolutionary process tied directly to their colonial and postcolonial history” (Schneider, 2007: 3); in other words, to situations of English relocation to new territories, where, under similar contact situations, a new variety evolves. Thus, while the term “Postcolonial Englishes” excludes British English, it includes American or Australian English as well as the “New Englishes” and English-based creoles. It can be said that Schneider is primarily concerned with the processes that underlie the formation of such new varieties rather than with their end results.

As demonstrated above, English varieties spoken around the world are similar to each other in some respects yet different in others. Based on their shared properties, linguists have attempted to categorise them into broader types, through the use of various models. Of the earlier approaches, which do not primarily focus on contact origins or effects, the ENL/ESL/EFL model (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik 1972; Platt *et al*. 1984; Kachru 1985) and Kachru's (1985) Three Circles model deserve closer attention.

The ENL/ESL/EFL model aims to explain the differences and similarities in the ways English is used in different countries. It differentiates these on the basis of how English is acquired by speakers in a particular country, distinguishing between countries where English is a native language (ENL), English is a second language (ESL) and English is a foreign language (EFL). In ENL countries, i.e., the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia or New Zealand, English is spoken by the great majority of the population as a native language. In ESL countries, often ex-British and US colonies, such as India, Singapore or Hong Kong, English typically enjoys official status; however, it is not the main language of the population. It co-exists alongside the various widely-spoken indigenous languages. Finally, in EFL countries, English is acquired by formal education and has no official function. Since such classification fails to take into account the complex realities and the changes in the status of English which have taken place over the past decades, it is nowadays considered as somewhat dated. The ENL/ESL/EFL model has been criticised mainly for a lack of flexibility that results in its restricted applicability. MacArthur (1998: 43-46) and Görlach (1998: 4), for instance, point out that the model cannot be applied to more complex and multilingual contexts. Similarly, Schneider (2007: 12) argues that the model neglects to take into account the presence of groups of non-native speakers in ENL countries, such as Pakistanis in Britain or Aboriginals in Australia. It also omits native speakers in ESL countries such as Singapore or Nigeria; equally, it does not seem to be suitable for a clear categorisation of countries with a complex linguistic situation such as South Africa (ibid.: 13). In conclusion, this categorisation into ENL/ESL/EFL seems to pay no attention to language contact effects.

In 1985 Kachru introduced an alternative model to the ENL/ESL/EFL classification. Kachru (1985: 29) argues that the Three Circles model challenges the "traditional notions of codification, standardisation, models and methods" since it adds the socio-political and developmental component. It describes the spread of English around the world using three

overlapping circles: the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles. Kachru (1992: 356) suggests that the three Circles "represent the types of spread, patterns of acquisition and the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts". The Inner Circle contains the five former British colonies: the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, where English has been used as a first language for an extended period of time. The Outer Circle includes African and Asian countries, i.e., Zambia, Nigeria, India, Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines, where English is spoken as a second language and plays an important role in a multilingual setting. Finally, in the Expanding-Circle countries such as Russia, China, Indonesia and South Korea, English has no colonial foundations thus is used as an international or foreign language. Kachru (1997) acknowledges that in some cases the boundaries between the Circles are "fuzzy" and certain varieties may have overlapping membership.

In addition to the patterns of acquisition Kachru (1997) also refers to the issue of the ownership of the norms applied to English. He proposes viewing the Inner-Circle countries as *norm providing*, the Outer-Circle countries as *norm developing* and the Expanding-Circle countries as *norm dependent* (Kachru, 1997: 220). In other words, the Outer Circle varieties have developed their own conventions and rules, whereas the Expanding Circle varieties follow the linguistic norms of the Inner Circle communities. One of the main differences from the ENL/ESL/EFL model is that Kachru (1997) does not view the Inner-Circle countries as holding a superior position and argues that norms and standards should not be determined by these countries.

The Three Circles model has become widely accepted in the study of World Englishes; however, its current validity has in recent years been brought into question. It appears to have limited applicability to cases of multilingualism. Further, it lacks flexibility in regard to the ENL/ESL/EFL context, which is, as a result of mobility and globalisation, changing (Jenkins, 2009: 20-21). Clearly, the Three Circles model focuses on aspects of English language spread other than contact origins or effects in its new environments.

2.2. Colonial Englishes and their origins

The relocation of English to new territories led, in most instances, to situations in which speakers of distinct regional and social dialects came together in face-to-face contact in a way in which this would probably never have happened in their homeland. The question is what accounts for the particular structure of postcolonial varieties of English. Scholars have tried to establish whether a single dialect prevailed, or whether the dialect contact led to dialect mixture in given situations. Focusing on the Southern Hemisphere varieties, the attempts to explain the development of colonial dialects can be divided into single and multiple origin theories.

The single origin (monogenetic) explanations do not acknowledge the importance of language and dialect contact resulting in dialect mixture; instead, they suggest that a single dialect prevailed in the new location. Hammarström (1980) and Cochrane (1989), for instance, argue that Australian English is a single variety, nineteenth-century Cockney English to be precise, transported to Australia. Hammarström (1980: 53) bases this claim mainly on the evidence that large numbers of early immigrants came from London. Similarly, Wall (1938) asserts that New Zealand English originates from Cockney. Another single origin theory put forward for New Zealand English is that this variety is largely derived from Australian English (Bauer 1994a, Gordon & Daverson 1998).

The monogenetic view is opposed by the supporters of multiple origin (polygenetic) theory, which stresses the importance of dialect and language contact in the formation of new English varieties. Lanham (1967: 104), for instance, suggests that South African English is a result of dialect mixture and, as such, displays features from “at least 20 regional (geographical) dialects”. This claim is supported by Branford (1994) and Lass (1997), who confirm the importance of various dialectal input into South African English. Further, in line with Bernard (1981: 20), who describes the situation in early Australia as a dialectal “mixing bowl”, Cochrane (1989) argues that dialect contact played an important role in the formation of this variety. Turner (1994: 278) confirms that Australian English must have its roots in dialect contact; similarly, Bauer (1994: 422) argues that “the preferred theory about the origins of Australian and New Zealand English seems to be that they arise through dialect

mixture". Trudgill, Gordon, Lewis and Maclagan (2000) likewise argue against the monogenetic approach which suggests that New Zealand English is transplanted Australian English. They point out that before 1881 only 7 per cent of New Zealand immigrants came from Australia. This fact leads them to the conclusion that New Zealand English cannot be a result of the adoption of features from one regional dialect (Trudgill *et al*., 2000: 302). Schreier (2003, 2008) demonstrates that dialect contact played an important role in the formation of both Tristan da Cunha English and St Helenian English. Further, Schneider (2003, 2007) discounts the theory that colonial Englishes are simply varieties transplanted to new territories. Based on the available linguistic evidence Trudgill (2004: 11) concludes that "colonial varieties are the consequence, at least in part, of dialect mixture". Trudgill (2012: 2053) further asserts that if we compare the features in a new colonial variety to those of the homeland variety and are unable to link a particular feature to a single homeland dialect, then its presence can very often be explained by dialect mixture. However, the possibility that the new feature is a result of subsequent innovations in the new variety has to be considered.

It appears that recent research into colonial Englishes has proven the importance of dialect contact and dialect mixture in the formation of these varieties and has resulted in the general acceptance of the multiple-origin hypothesis. Nevertheless, there are also colonial Englishes that may be assigned monogenetic origin. Trudgill (1986) and Sudbury (2000), for example, observe that West Falkland was settled by immigrants originating from a single location and, therefore, no dialect contact took place. Similarly, Bonin Island English appears to be another unusual case where dialect contact did not lead to dialect mixture (Trudgill 2004). The reason could be the relatively small number of native speakers involved in settling the Bonins which resulted in rather limited linguistic accommodation (ibid.: 190). However, such instances seem to be rather rare.

In recent years scholars have focused on the contacts and their effects in the development of new varieties of English. Attempts have been made to establish what processes are involved in the formation of such varieties and to identify factors that play an important role in their evolution. The most important findings are presented in the following sections (2.2.1-2.2.4).

2.2.1. Language restructuring in contact situations

An important contribution to the language and dialect formation studies comes from Mufwene (1996, 2001) who attempts to understand the processes that lead to variation and result in language change. He seeks to apply the ideas from creole development to other contact situations in colonial settings. Mufwene (2006: 181) believes that creoles and other nonstandard varieties spoken in former European settlement colonies can provide one of the best windows into the genesis of colonial Englishes. He claims that "native Englishes, indigenised Englishes and English pidgins and creoles have all developed by the same kind of natural restructuring processes" and since they are products of language contact, they can be investigated within the same framework (Mufwene, 2001: 113). Mufwene (2001) further argues that colonial Englishes as well as pidgins and creoles developed from intense face-to-face contacts involving speakers of different varieties. He observes that in particular colonial Englishes and creoles, varieties used as native languages, appear to share a number of common features, which he assigns to similar formation processes (ibid.). He argues that the difference between creoles and colonial Englishes is that the former emerge by the selection of more "xenolectal" (i.e., non-native) features, whereas the latter by the selection of "lexifier" features (Mufwene, 2001: 24). In other words, the differences are not due to developmental processes; rather, they stem from the different types of colonies associated with different socio-economic structures (power distribution, and integration or segregation between the parties involved) and different interactional patterns (regularity, and the kind of linguistic contact). Mufwene (2001: 8-9) points out that the varying motives of the settlers influenced both the type of speakers emigrating to the new overseas locations and the kinds of English they brought with them. He identifies the following types of colonies in the former British Empire: exploitation, trade and settlement colonies (ibid.).

Exploitation colonies were typically founded in the nineteenth century with the aim of gaining political control over new territories for the benefit of the colonising powers. A typical feature was a clear social segregation and unequal power distribution between the colonisers and the colonists. Such colonies were characterised by a relatively small yet powerful English-speaking community, which consisted mainly of administrators, servicemen

and commercial agents. In order to administer the colony, the colonisers required help from the local people. Thus, whereas the senior administrators were typically of British origin, the lower positions were filled by members of the local elite. English was made accessible to those individuals, mainly through the scholastic medium, in the expectation that it would eventually serve as a *lingua franca* in communication between the two groups. The contact between English and the local languages was relatively intense, which resulted in the more pronounced influence of the indigenous languages on the emerging variety. In addition, the colonisers usually imported labourers from other non-English-speaking countries. Therefore, the new English varieties often display influences from other languages as well. In trade colonies, the contact between the parties was sporadic and often led to the emergence of pidgins. However, trade colonies often developed into settlement or exploitation colonies (Mufwene, 2004: 212). Settlement colonies, on the other hand, were characterised by relatively large numbers of Anglophone settlers whose intention was to settle permanently the new territory. Since all administrative positions were held by the settlers, there was no need to train the local population in English. As a result, due to the restricted contact with the indigenous languages, their influence on the emerging English varieties is seen mainly in the lexicon, which displays the borrowings of aboriginal words. It may therefore be concluded that there is a strong connection between the different types of colonies and the resulting linguistic ecologies, which explains why varieties that evolved in trade and exploitation colonies such as Brunei, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines are clearly distinct from those spoken in settlement colonies founded in Australia or New Zealand.

Mufwene (2001: 4-5) proposes that the new colonial varieties emerged as a result of the process of restructuring under contact conditions. He asserts that long-term face-to-face interaction between speakers of different dialects and languages in the colonial setting first leads to the formation of the so-called “feature pool”. Native and non-native speakers of English from different backgrounds contribute features to the feature pool, which leads to increased variation. What follows is the process of competition and selection, during which variants are selected from the feature pool into the newly emerging variety. Mufwene (2001) argues that the features are not simply selected; instead, they often undergo modifications, and such modifications eventually lead to language restructuring:

> What makes the new varieties restructured is not only the particular combinations of features selected, often from different sources, into the new language varieties but also the way in which the features themselves have been modified, "exapted," to fit into the new systems.
>
> (Mufwene, 2001: 5)

From linguistic processes accommodation is seen as being central since the selections are made by speakers while they accommodate to each other (Mufwene, 2002: 52).

Which competing features are selected into the new variety is determined by the ecology, which, according to Mufwene (2001: xii), "rolls the dice". In other words, it appears that language-external social and historical conditions outweigh the intra-linguistic factors. Therefore, in order to understand how new English varieties are born in colonial speech communities, the ecology of the communities to which dialects have been transplanted needs to be carefully examined. This approach, Mufwene (2001: 35) argues, could be "informative about the nature of feature competition and the factors which regulated specific selections in their respective settings". According to Mufwene (2001: 83), the following extra-linguistic and intra-linguistic factors are of significant importance in the formation of new colonial varieties:

- the nature of the diverse dialects brought by the British colonists
- the co-existence of English speakers with speakers of other languages, and typological features of the languages
- the demographic proportions of speakers of the language varieties in contact during the crucial period
- social contacts between the different social and ethnic groups
- immigration after the formative stages
- the origins of the new immigrants and their social status
- their proportions relative to the preceding populations and the patterns of integration within the extant populations.

A similar approach is suggested by Hickey (2004: 13), who argues that the following factors are of particular relevance to the formation of new dialects in former British colonies: the size of the immigrant group, the duration of the colony, intention to stay for good, ties to the homeland, integral group coherence and contact situations with the indigenous populations. In addition, aspects such as the size, climate, topography, economy or demography of the new location need to be considered.

Mufwene (2001) further observes that from the intra-linguistic factors, mainly markedness, frequency and salience play an important role in the way competition and selection are resolved. Past studies of contact situations leading to the formation of pidgins or creoles have confirmed that languages have tendencies towards regularisation. Mufwene (2001: 57) points out that in the process of creole formation it is not unusual that the "more common or frequent, the more salient, more regular, or more transparent alternatives were favoured over the less common or frequent, the less salient, the less regular, or the opaque alternatives". However, he adds that markedness is ecology sensitive and therefore we need to evaluate the markedness factors in relation to the particular language ecology. He argues that it is crucial to assess what applies in each individual case as "that what may be unmarked in a particular ecology may be marked in another" (Mufwene, 2008: 131). It would therefore appear that the intra-linguistic conditions determine possible developmental trajectories for the new variety, nevertheless, which are ultimately followed depends on the ecology of the setting.

Further, Mufwene (1996) observes that since new forms of English in colonial settings emerge as a result of multiple migrations, the feature pool is subject to constant variation and change. However, not all sub-migrations contribute to the final product equally. The way in which features are combined is often decided in the early stages of the contact situation, therefore the focus should be on "the characteristics of the vernaculars spoken by the populations that founded the colonies" (Mufwene, 1996: 84). This phenomenon is referred to as the "founder effect":

> Linguistic features of the founder population can go a long way into subsequent generations, thanks to the fact that with every new group of speakers that acquire the original features the number of transmitters increases exponentially, particularly the features' selective advantage over alternatives brought in later by newcomers who arrive in small increments.
>
> (Mufwene, 1999: 5)

Scholars have been trying to establish whether the founder effect can be applied in all contact situations. Hickey (2004: 14) claims that it operates only in circumstances where the continuity from the input dialect to new forms of English was not interrupted. The effect would thus not be applicable in situations where language shift took place and where features from the native language were transferred into the target language English (Ireland or KwaZulu-Natal). Sudbury (2000), based on her Falkland Islands English (FIE) research, argues that the founder effect might be relevant only in larger scale dialect contact situations. She asserts that in unstable environments with a high immigrant turnover the later arrivals might have a greater influence on the developing variety and their origins are therefore of equal importance. Similarly, Lass (1990: 267) suggests that if the founding population becomes outnumbered by later immigrants, swamping takes place. In other words, features introduced by the founding generation may be overridden if the subsequent immigrant groups are sufficiently numerous. As a result, the variety might develop in an entirely different direction and the founder effect might be unimportant. Finally, Schreier (2002) observes that in some dialect contact situations levelling and independent change can override the founder effect. Therefore, the strength and applicability of the founder effect should be considered in each particular case.

Mufwene (2006: 181) asserts that Southern Hemisphere varieties resulted from the formation processes outlined above, and although their individual features seem quite conservative, they have been recombined into new systems. He argues that the major difference, with respect to creoles and other indigenised varieties, may be identified in "the composition of the contact setting's feature pool" (Mufwene, 2008a: 255). Clearly, the presence of features from other languages in the feature pools during the formation of the Southern Hemisphere varieties was less significant. Further, Mufwene (ibid.) asserts that another important ecological difference lies "in the kinds of varieties the new speakers have

targeted and in the mode of 'transmission'". This refers to the different ways in which speakers acquire the new variety. A distinction may be made between naturalistic language acquisition, on the one hand, and scholastic acquisition, mainly through books and the classroom, on the other (ibid.). The division goes back to Gupta (1997: 53-56), who suggests that the different contact scenarios found in the colonies lead to different types of English acquisition. She identifies the five most common general patterns: monolingual ancestral English countries (e.g., Australia), monolingual contact variety countries (e.g., Jamaica), multilingual scholastic English (e.g., India), multilingual contact variety (e.g., Singapore) and multilingual ancestral English (e.g., South Africa).

2.2.2. Schneider's Dynamic Model of New Englishes

Schneider (2003, 2007) proposes a Dynamic Model of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes. It is neither historical nor geographic; instead, it is founded on sociolinguistic concepts. Contact and its effects are central to this model. The Dynamic Model is based around the notion of "social identity and its construction and reconstruction by symbolic linguistic means" (Schneider, 2007: 26). In agreement with Mufwene (2001), Schneider (2007: 5) claims that

> […] despite all obvious dissimilarities, a fundamentally uniform developmental process, shaped by consistent sociolinguistic and language-contact conditions, has operated in the individual instances of relocating and re-rooting the English language in another territory, and therefore it is possible to present the individual histories of PCES as instantiations of the same underlying process.

Schneider (2003, 2007) suggests that the formation processes that postcolonial Englishes undergo from the beginning until they develop into new self-contained varieties may be described by a five-stage cycle including foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation and differentiation. He further claims that this approach is applicable to the development of all Englishes that emerged in colonial contact scenarios, that is, varieties spoken in Inner- and Outer-Circle countries. In his more recent work,

Schneider (2014) invites the question whether the proposed framework could be relevant for Expanding-Circle countries and thus be applicable, for instance, to English in China, Korea, Japan, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries, Namibia and Rwanda.

In line with Mufwene (2001), Schneider (2007: 24-25) sees the different types of colonisation as one of the factors that lead to variation within new Englishes. Schneider (2007: 65-66) adopts the same division into basic colony types proposed by Mufwene (Section 2.1.1); however, he applies the label "settlement colony" strictly to cases where the settlers became dominant in number and they went on to marginalise the indigenous people (Schneider 2007: 25). In Gupta's terms, this refers to monolingual ancestral English countries. For situations where the European settlers imported labourers from other countries Schneider proposes the term "plantation colonies". In addition to the four colonisation types he introduces another kind of contact setting, which he terms "postcolonial attractions" (Schneider, 2013: 141). This particular situation refers to the spread of English to countries that were not British or American colonies.

Schneider (2007: 65-68) points out that the relationship between the settlers and the indigenous population in settlement colonies is often marked by hostility due to the fact that the settlers claim the indigenous land. He assigns the reduced structural influence of the local languages on the emerging variety to this reason. Schneider (2007) further suggests that the indigenous languages achieve greater importance typically in the last phase of the formation process, differentiation, when their status increases. Dissimilarly to Mufwene (2011), who considers plantation colonies a subtype of settler colonies, Schneider argues that the ecologies were radically different and therefore plantation colonies should be viewed as a separate group. In plantation colonies the indigenous population was either of little importance or it was eradicated and often replaced by slaves imported from other destinations. The English speakers were clearly in the minority and the principal contact was with often linguistically heterogeneous groups of labourers imported from different parts of the world. The contact scenarios in such colonies frequently resulted in the emergence of creoles. The earliest plantation colonies were established in the Caribbean, followed by South Africa and many Pacific islands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Finally, in the type called "postcolonial attractions", new varieties of English began to develop mainly

after the end of the colonial period yet without the presence of L1 English speakers. The diversification of English in this case is ascribed mainly to globalisation. An example of a variety produced by this type of setting is Japanese English (Schneider, 2013: 141).

Thus, Schneider (2007) confirms Mufwene's (2001) claim that the variability within postcolonial Englishes may, to a certain extent, be explained by different types of contact and language transmission as well as by unique geographical and historical circumstances. Further, he argues that the fact that individual countries in which postcolonial Englishes are spoken are positioned at different phases along the proposed five-stage cycle accounts for additional differences (Schneider, 2007: 5).

Schneider (2007: 31) suggests viewing the entire formation process from two complementary perspectives: that of the colonisers/settlers (STL) and that of the colonised/indigenous (IDG). Central to his model is the relationship between these two parties and their progressive identity rewritings towards a new common identity associated with linguistic changes. The settlers are native speakers of English while the indigenous population acquires English as a second language. The concept of STL and IDG strands therefore overlaps with the notion of ENL and ESL. However, it is not applied to countries:

> I wish to apply my notions of the STL and IDG strand to speech communities, frequently defined along ethnic lines, as agents in an ongoing process. […] both groups who share a piece of land increasingly share a common language experience and communication ethnography.
>
> (Schneider, 2007: 32)

Schneider (2007) agrees with Mufwene (2001) that the face-to-face contact between members of the STL strand, as well as the contact with the IDG strand, leads to the formation of pool of forms and structures. When choosing from the pool

> [S]peakers keep redefining and expressing their linguistic and social identities, constantly aligning themselves with other individuals and thereby accommodating their speech behavior to those they wish to associate and be associated with.
>
> (Schneider, 2007: 21)

Schneider (2001) argues that the complex and ever-evolving process of identity formation and realignment is fundamental, since the parties brought into contact need to define themselves with respect both to the other groups and their own traditions. He further suggests that what Thomason (2001: 142) describes as "negotiation" may be directly applied to the emergence of postcolonial Englishes. During the process of negotiation speakers tend to minimise linguistic differences by choosing features from the feature pool that are shared within the group. This process eventually leads to dialect convergence and results in the emergence of a single "language community with a set of shared norms" (Schneider, 2007: 32).

Schneider (2007) agrees with Mufwene (2001) that the ecologies of the contact situation play a crucial role in the process of selection, as they influence which competing alternatives survive and which do not. He insists that the investigation of extra-linguistic parameters in each phase, including socio-historical and political processes as well as questions of identity construction, is of significant importance. In other words, the model must be viewed as being closely linked to social networks, since changes that take place in this area are reflected in the language. Schneider (2007: 110-111) argues that the following factors influence the process of feature selection:

- demography: forms used by the majority of speakers stand a higher chance of surviving
- frequency: this notion is related to demography, as more frequently used features will show the tendency to survive
- historical depth: is related to the above mentioned factors and correlates with Mufwene's *founder effect*
- markedness, salience, transparency, regularity as well as similarity or difference between L1 and L2 forms and patterns influence feature selection. Further, status plays an important role as speakers will accommodate to those they wish to approximate.

The five consecutive stages outlined by Schneider (2007) for the evolution of a new postcolonial variety are: foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation and differentiation.

Phase 1 - Foundation

This phase corresponds to the arrival of the settlers and thus the introduction of English into a previously non-English speaking environment, which results in the formation of two different linguistic ecologies. Firstly, the coming together of speakers of different regional and social English varieties leads to a dialect contact situation; secondly, there are typically indigenous languages spoken in the new territory and this results in a language contact situation. In this phase dialect contact clearly prevails over the language contact. The extended face-to-face contact between speakers of different dialects leads initially to accommodation and subsequently to koinéisation and the emergence of a new, relatively homogeneous "middle-of-the-road" variety. Schneider asserts that the following linguistic processes are at work: levelling, focussing, simplification and the emergence of intermediate forms. He further observes that during this phase the STL and the IDG strands regard themselves as distinct from each other thus the contact between them is rather restricted. Typically, marginal bilingualism develops among the members of the IDG strand at this stage. The influence of indigenous languages on the English of the new settlers is limited to lexical, mainly toponymic, borrowings.

Phase 2 - Exonormative stabilisation

The STL communities become more or less established and the notion of stability in the new territory is reinforced. Nevertheless, the members of STL strand still perceive themselves as representatives of Britain on foreign soil, and for cultural and linguistic norms look to their country of origin. Despite this, a distinct variety of English begins to emerge. The language

contact with the IDG strand often leads to further borrowing, mostly words for fauna, flora, customs and typical objects. Schneider (2007: 37) claims that the changing identity of the STL strand, who perceive themselves as "British plus," that is, British with "the additional flavour of the colonial experience which those who stayed 'home' do not share", is expressed through these loans. The contact between the two strands is more commonplace and leads to further changes in the linguistic system of English, which is seen not only on the lexical level: progressively, syntax and morphology are also affected. The fact that the IDG strand begins to see English as an asset in improving their social position leads to the spread of bilingualism and an increased tendency towards language shift. This in turn sets off a number of linguistic processes such as code switching, code alternation, passive familiarity, second-language acquisition strategies or negotiation. The above-mentioned processes subsequently lead to contact-induced changes. Schneider compares developments at this stage to the developments that take place at the early stages of some instances of creolisation.

Phase 3 - Nativisation

According to Schneider, this phase is closely connected with the cultural and linguistic transition. The political and linguistic ties of the STL's strand with their homeland become weaker and the striving for independence more pronounced. It is common that countries gain political independence during this phase, which further influences the new identity formation. Schneider observes that members of both strands feel at home in the same territory. Communication between them becomes more commonplace, which leads to further intertwining of the STL and IDG strands. However, this does not mean that equal status between the STL and IDG communities is achieved. The IDG strand becomes more linguistically and culturally assimilated into the STL, which leads to widespread second language acquisition in the IDG strand and in some cases even to language shift. Schneider points out that while some STL speakers prefer to remain conservative, keeping true to the norm, others are more innovative and tend to approximate the IDG population; this factor

leads to the formation of a continuum between conservative and innovative STL speakers. English undergoes the heaviest restructuring. At the end of this stage a new, structurally distinctive, variety emerges. Therefore, according to Schneider (2007: 44), this phase is "at the heart of the birth of a new, formally distinct PCE". The vocabulary is influenced by heavy lexical borrowing and the IDG strand's phonological and structural innovations (word formation, phrases, prepositional usage, verb complementation) spread to the STL variety. This leads to the development of constructions peculiar to the country in question, for instance, preference for *different to,* or the use of *less* instead of *fewer* with plural countable nouns in AusE (Schneider, 2007: 122).

Phase 4 - Endonormative stabilisation

This phase typically follows Independence. The post-Independence period leads to the formation of new, indigenous identity that is reinforced by the acceptance of the local forms of English. In essence, this is the phase when a new nation is born. It is often speeded up by an "Event X", an exceptional, quasi-catastrophic political event that leads to a definitive separation from the mother country. In South Africa, for instance, the non-violent anti-apartheid revolution in 1994 when Mandela came to power could be viewed as an Event X. During this phase a small number of the STL strand members might still have the tendency to retain the conservative forms; however, in general the barriers between the two strands become fuzzier. The new norm, clearly different from the transported one, stabilises and strives towards homogeneity through the process of focussing and codification. Schneider asserts that at this point the emerging variety is accepted positively as a carrier of a new identity and becomes used in a range of formal situations. By this time many, if not all, members of the IDG strand complete the language shift.

Phase 5 - Differentiation

At this stage the emergence of a new national variety of English reflecting the local identity and culture is complete. The phase is characterised by the existence of a newly established nation with room for internal diversification. The members no longer define themselves as a single entity, but rather on the basis of ethnicity, gender, or city, for example, which leads to the emergence of regional and social dialects. Schneider (2007: 54) sees this point as a "vigorous phase of new or increased, internal sociolinguistic diversification". The linguistic process of reallocation is at work. Differences between the STL and IDG strands manifest predominantly as ethnic dialect markers.

Schneider (2007) asserts that, with some restrictions, the Dynamic Model is applicable to all colonial Englishes around the globe. At the same time, he acknowledges that the developmental phases do not always correspond to the reality and that the boundaries between stages are often "fuzzy". In individual cases the certain stages may occur at different times and often show a various degree of overlap. Depending on the colony type, the length of the phases might vary. Ideally, each community should arrive at Phase 5 at a certain point in history. Nevertheless, it is possible that some varieties, due to the changes in the socio-political situation, fail to complete the full cycle and their development stops at an intermediate stage. According to Schneider (2007: 113-308), the entire cycle has been completed in, for instance, Australian, New Zealand or Canadian English. Varieties still in the process of development are spoken in Fiji (Phase 2), Hong Kong, Kenya (Phase 3) and Singapore (Phase 4). Malaysian and Philippine English have become fossilised at Phase 3. South African English is somewhat complicated, mainly because English fulfils the role of a native as well as a second language, and therefore does not constitute a single, stabilised variety. The linguistic situation in South Africa was further influenced by the socio-political developments following the end of Apartheid, which entailed more changes on the level of identity. Schneider (2007) stresses that the model should be regarded as fluid with overlap between the various phases. He also invites further testing and suggests that the model

should be “improved, modified and developed further as needed, to provide an even closer match with reality” (Schneider, 2007: 55).

Apart from the seventeen case studies of Inner- and Outer-Circle countries presented in Schneider (2007), the Dynamic Model has been applied and discussed by numerous scholars. Some authors re-applied the model to the same countries as are discussed in Schneider (2007). Among them are Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2005), who applied the model to American English; Moore (2008), to Australian English; Evans (2009) to Hong Kong English; Bekker (2009) to South African English, and Bautista (2010) to Philippine English.

Other scholars have applied the Dynamic Model to countries not discussed by Schneider (2007). Weston (2011) refers to English in Gibraltar; Buschfeld (2013) to Cyprus English and Ike (2012) to Japanese English. These researchers have, in general, confirmed the applicability of the model to the varieties in question; certain modifications, especially in connection with the specificities of the investigated speech communities, have been suggested. Bekker (2009: 432) proposes “an extension of a principle of flexibility and fluidity that already lies at the heart of the model” and points out that “successive ‘waves’ of nativization” need to be recognised. Weston (2011) observed the absence of an IDG strand in Gibraltar, while Buschfeld (2013) found that in Cyprus there was a reduced correlation between identity constructions and linguistic behaviour. Van Rooy (2010: 16) similarly acknowledges the usefulness of the model although he calls for “a more intensive consideration of the input”.

Researchers frequently address the question of the role of identity in the formation of new dialects (as opposed to Trudgill’s (2004) deterministic approach). Bekker (2009: 437), based on his study of South African English phonology, argues that the study provides “evidence, with respect to the BATH and MOUTH vowels, showing Trudgill’s (2004) model of new-dialect formation to be inadequate in accounting for the SAE data; and, consequently, support for Schneider’s (2008a) emphasis on the importance of indexical factors in new-dialect formation”. Further attempts to apply the Dynamic Model to the situation in South Africa (Van Rooy 2014, Coetzee-Van Rooy 2014, Mesthrie 2014) confirm the importance of the acceptance of the local variety as a carrier of a local identity.

With regard to the limitations of the Dynamic Model, one of the most widely discussed issues is the applicability of the same framework to Inner- and Outer-Circle

varieties. Mesthrie and Bhat (2008: 35), for instance, argue that the "incorporation of 'dominion' countries like Australia […] with ESL countries like Fiji seems unwarranted" due to the significantly different respective conditions at these locations. On the other hand, van Rooy and Terblanche (2010: 358) suggest that "[o]ne of the most important virtues of this model is that it incorporates both native and non-native varieties in[to] one coherent". On a similar note Melchers and Shaw (2011: 31) see the strength of the Dynamic Model in its applicability to many varieties.

In sum, it can be said that the above-mentioned studies have proven that the Dynamic Model "has been widely accepted and found to apply to most varieties" (Melchers & Shaw, 2011: v) and thus can be viewed as a significant theoretical contribution. It should be borne in mind that, as any model, it cannot always mirror the complex realities of individual cases. Notwithstanding its limitations, the Dynamic Model has greatly contributed to understanding of the evolution of new varieties of English around the world. With respect to the ENL/ESL/EFL and Kachru's (1985) Three Circles model, Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model clearly provides a more comprehensive uniformitarian account of how English has spread around the world and diversified into a multitude of varieties. In addition, the Dynamic Model appears to be better suited for integrating heterogeneous language situations, since it acknowledges that different ethnic groups within a country may proceed through the cycle at different speeds.

2.2.3. Trudgill's new-dialect formation model

The second model deserving of attention in this context is Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation. Unlike the Dynamic Model, Trudgill's framework is applicable only to Inner-Circle colonial varieties derived from settlement colonies. Further, Trudgill (2004: 26) restricts the applicability of his model to varieties which arose in *tabula rasa* environments, i.e., contact situations where there was no prior-existing population speaking the language in question in the location during the formative period. In his later work Trudgill (2008)

investigates other contexts and suggests that applicability of the model could be extended to other language varieties that arose under similar circumstances.

In essence, Trudgill (2004) applies the term "new-dialect formation" to linguistic situations in emerging colonial speech communities where a mixture of distinct dialects leads, over time, to a single new dialect that is different from all inputs. He claims that there is a limited set of developmental processes which can be identified in such situations. Trudgill (2004) argues that the main process leading to dialect mixture is convergence *via* accommodation between speakers of different dialects in face-to-face interaction. As a result, speakers of one dialect adopt features from other, mutually intelligible, dialects. The theory is based mainly on evidence from New Zealand English and further supported by evidence from other Southern Hemisphere varieties. The unique research into the origins of New Zealand English (ONZE) was conducted at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand (www.ling.canterbury.ac.nz/ozne/). It analyses recordings made by the Mobile Unit of the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation between 1946 and 1947; they are of 325 New Zealanders born between 1850 and 1900. The recordings capture the speech of the first-born generation, the children of the early immigrants from the British Isles, thus they allow for a more comprehensive study of the origins of NZE. By extension, these recordings also offer an insight into the evolution and the formation process of other Southern Hemisphere and colonial varieties. Baxter, Blythe, Croft and McKane (2009: 262) point out that the ONZE data do not offer an accurate reflection of the late nineteenth-century New Zealand situation. They argue that the data are rurally biased since speakers from larger towns were not interviewed. This would appear to have implications for Trudgill's (2004) claim that the new dialect originates in the main centres from where it subsequently diffuses to rural areas. A further problem is seen in the fact that the database includes a majority of both male speakers and settlers from the South Island; as such, it cannot claim to be representative of the entire population (Baxter *et al*., 2009: 262). Nevertheless, the ONZE database is unique, as no similar recordings are available for other Anglophone countries with settler populations.

As mentioned above, dialect mixture and accommodation are seen as crucial in the formation and stabilisation of a new dialect; however, there are other modifying factors that influence the shape of the emerging variety. Trudgill (2004: 1-5) identifies three main factors

accounting for differences between new colonial Englishes and the respective varieties spoken in the countries to which English speakers emigrated.

1. Adaptation to new physical environments

Research into colonial varieties has shown that the extent to which the lexicon is adapted in each colonial variety differs significantly. Trudgill proposes that the vocabulary of varieties brought to the colonies undergoes two types of changes in order to include words for new concepts. Firstly, a word existing in both varieties may have different meanings in each context (*robin* in American English refers to a different type of bird from that in British English), or the meaning may be extended (*station* in Australian English means a large stock farm) from its common usage in the transported variety.

2. Separate developments

Further, Trudgill observes that certain linguistic changes take place only in the mother country yet not in the colony. This could account for the fact that in British English glottalisation of the intervocalic /t/ is quite typical, unlike in North American English or Southern Hemisphere English (Wells 1982). Linguistic change may, in contrast, occur in the colonies yet not in the mother country. An example of such is the flapping of intervocalic /t/ and /d/ in *city* and *ladder* in North American English (ibid.). In general, it may be claimed that the older the colony, the greater are the differences with respect to the source variety. Therefore, compared to British English more differences are expected to be found in the English of North America than, for example, in Falkland Islands English.

3. Contact with indigenous and other European languages

In colonial varieties that emerged in settler colonies the contact with indigenous languages and other European languages typically influences mainly the lexicon, although grammatical constructions may also be borrowed. Examples of lexical borrowings from indigenous languages include: *kangaroo* or *boomerang* into Australian English*, karroo* "desert plateau" into South African English and *mana* "prestige, charisma, authority" into New Zealand English. South African English contains lexical borrowings

from Afrikaans, e.g., *cookie* (from "koekje") "biscuit". On the other hand, there are also colonial varieties such as Bermudan English, Falkland Islands English and Tristan da Cunha English that had no contact with indigenous languages since there was no indigenous population prior to the arrival of the Anglophone settlers. Besides lexicon, contact with other European languages may influence, to varying degrees, grammatical structures and phonology. However, in this case there are also varieties, e.g., Bermudan English, which show no influence of European languages, since all of the settlers came from England (Trudgill, 2004: 5).

Another key question concerns the linguistic processes at work during the formation phase. As mentioned in Section 2.2.1, Mufwene (2001: 12) claims that the main process is restructuring which he sees as "the reorganization of the mechanical system of a language and/or of the pragmatic principles regulating its use." Trudgill (2004: 84-89) offers a more detailed view when he suggests that there are six key mechanisms: mixing, levelling, unmarking, interdialect development, reallocation and focussing. Although these linguistic processes are different in nature, they all lead to a reduction in the extreme variability in the input. Eventually, a new, more stable variety emerges, one with lower variability from the input.

1. **Mixing** occurs when speakers of different dialects or mutually intelligible languages come together in face-to-face contact. The same process is identified by Mufwene (2001) and Schneider (2003, 2007). According to Trudgill, mixing begins to take place at meeting points and continues during the journey to the destination as well as at the early stages of the colony's existence. This claim is in line with Turner (1994: 278), who claims that in the case of AusE the dialect levelling could already have started in England or at the sea and most "of the involuntary passengers had already left rural England for cities, accommodationg their speech to their neighbours there" (ibid.: 277). Similarly, Buccini (1995) asserts that the formation process of new colonial varieties of European languages began in the European ports where speakers of different dialects gathered prior to sailing for the colonies. Trudgill agrees with Mufwene (2001) that during the process of mixing, speakers contribute features

(phonetic, grammatical, morphological and lexical) from different input dialects into the feature pool.

2. Similarly to Mufwene (2001) and Schneider (2007), Trudgill applies the term **levelling** to the process of reduction of variants present in the original dialect mixture. During this process a particular dialect variant supplants all other variants. Phonemes, lexical items and morphological categories may all be subject to levelling. The variants can be drawn from various inputs and Trudgill observes that their selection is determined mainly by the proportion of speakers of each dialect. He argues that the variants that typically survive are those used by the majority of speakers. In the context of the ONZE data, Trudgill assumes that features of traditional dialects must have been present in the speech of the first New Zealand settlers. However, as these are absent from the speech of the first generation of New Zealand-born children, he suggests that the features were levelled out in the early stages of the colony's existence.

3. **Unmarking** is a subtype of levelling during which elimination of linguistically marked variants takes place. Trudgill argues that certain variants survive even if they are not in the majority due to the fact that they might be more regular, simpler or in other ways linguistically unmarked.

4. The process of **interdialect development** produces "forms which were not actually present in any of the dialects contributing to the mixture" (Trudgill, 2004: 86). The majority appear as a consequence of the partial accommodation and/or misanalysis of adult speakers. Trudgill divides interdialect forms into three types: (a) some interdialectal forms may be simpler or more regular than the original inputs; (b) certain intermediate forms may result from partial accommodation and may be phonologically, morphologically and syntactically "in-between" the input dialects; (c) hypercorrection may similarly result in interdialectal forms. In such instances speakers aim to use variants associated with a perceived higher status and apply language rules to variants incorrectly.

5. As suggested above, typically only one variant is selected from the feature pool into the new variety. If two or more variants from the dialect mixture survive, they may undergo the process of **reallocation,** during which they are allocated different social or phonological functions. For instance, in Australian English both southern and northern pronunciations of the lexical set *dance:* /a:/ vs. /æ/ have been retained. However, the /æ/ pronunciation appears mostly before nasal clusters, e.g., in words such as *dance, plant*, whereas the /a:/ realisation is found in other phonological contexts (Trudgill, 2004: 124). It is not exactly known how often more than one variant survives; nevertheless, Trudgill proposes that under certain circumstances minority forms might be adopted alongside the majority form.

6. **Focussing** is the last process during which the new dialect acquires norms and stability. Trudgill makes use of the concept suggested by Le Page (1980), who perceives focussing as more or less a part of conscious human behaviour. He claims that when interacting with others

> we project onto the social screen the concepts we have formed, by talking about them, so as to furnish our universe and try to get others to acknowledge the shape of our furniture; we in turn try to bring our concepts into focus with those of others, so that there is feedback from the social screen through language.
>
> (Le Page, 1980: 15-16)

Trudgill (2004: 88) concludes that in new-dialect formation situations focussing causes a certain degree of uniformity and is often associated with standardisation and codification.

According to Trudgill (2004: 89-127), the six processes described above are at work during three different dialect formation stages which take place over approximately three successive generations. During this period the mixture of dialects crystallises into a relatively focussed variety. Each stage is characterised by two principle processes: Stage 1 by rudimentary levelling and interdialect development; Stage 2 by extreme variability and apparent levelling, and Stage 3 by a choice of majority forms and reallocation. The key players at each stage are different. At Stage 1 it is the first adult immigrants, speakers of

different dialects, whereas at Stages 2 and 3 the two subsequent generations of locally-born children are the main contributors to change.

Stage 1

During this stage the face-to-face interaction among the original adult immigrants, speakers of different regional and social varieties, leads to a type of accommodation called rudimentary levelling. Through this process, minority or otherwise marked features that may cause intelligibility issues are eliminated. Trudgill (2004: 158) admits that at this point social factors such as prestige and identity may be of importance. Since accommodation is carried out by adults, negative attitudes, for instance towards rural speech, could be relevant in the process of elimination. Further, salience may play a certain role as speakers accommodate to features which they "notice". An example of rudimentary levelling in NZE would be the merger of /v/ and /w/ as /w/ ([wɪlɪdʒ] for *village*), a receding feature of many dialects of the south of England in the mid-nineteenth century (Trudgill, 2004: 91). Given its absence from the ONZE recordings, Trudgill assumes that it was levelled out during Stage 1. Further, at this point, accommodation may lead to the emergence of interdialect forms. An example of an interdialect form resulting from hypercorrection would be /h/- insertion into the initial position in words such as *and*, *I* or *apple*.

Stage 2

This stage corresponds to the first native-born generation in the new location. Children select different variants from the feature pool to form a new variety. An important factor is the absence of a societal norm for those children who, having no peer model to adopt, tend to retain the features of their parents' speech. Therefore, adults play a more significant role than is usually the case in more standard situations of language transmission. Trudgill observes that this stage is characterised by considerable variability. The ONZE data, which

represent this developmental stage, demonstrate that a great variability may be observed not only among the speakers, but also within their own speech. Trudgill (2004: 103-108) identifies three different types of variability among the ONZE speakers:

a) Original combinations

   Trudgill observes that the choices made by the children are highly individual, unrestricted by prestige or identity markers. One of the ONZE speakers, for instance, shows a combination of Irish/Scottish and English English origin features. He realises /ð/ and /θ/ as dental stops (from Irish English), and at the same time *H Dropping* is present in his speech, although this feature does not appear in Irish English (Trudgill, 2004: 104).

b) Intra-individual variability

   Children who are raised in linguistically unstable environments demonstrate a different type of linguistic behaviour than is common in more homogeneous speech communities. The atypical language acquisition situation leads to intra-individual variability. There is considerable fluctuation in the speech of these children, as they sometimes use one linguistic variant and at other times another. This is caused by the fact that the community provides several models and, therefore, for some phonological features speakers can adopt multiple variants. Trudgill (2004: 106) demonstrates this type of variability in the speech of one of the ONZE speakers, who realises the vowel in TRAP either as [ɛ] or [a] but never as [æ]. Moreover, his vowel in PRICE is between [ɜɪ] (Scottish-type diphthong) and [A:] (open central monophthong). His FLEECE vowel varies between short [i] (Scots origin) and [əi] (southern England). Finally, FACE and GOAT diphthongs alternate between monophthongs [e] and [o] (Scottish), and wide diphthongs [æɪ] and [ʌʊ] (not Scottish).

c) Inter-individual variability

The ONZE corpus reveals that the speech of members of the same age group within one community shows significant differences. Trudgill observes that the variability seems rather random, which he assigns to the fact that all speakers have the freedom to develop their own combinations. Trudgill (2004: 108) describes this phenomenon as "selecting at will from a kind of supermarket" of variants. The ONZE project confirms that some informants who grew up in close contact and were even related to each other have rather different phonologies. The speech of some is rhotic and contains *H Dropping*, /ʍ/ retention or clear /l/ in all positions, while these features are absent from the speech of others. The amount of variability would suggest that little accommodation took place at this stage. However, Trudgill argues that certain levelling must have been on-going, since variants commonly used during the first stage are missing from the speech of the first locally-born children. For instance, the northern English five short vowels system, where the FOOT vowel is pronounced in both FOOT and STRUT lexical sets, did not survive past Stage 1. Similarly, the centralised KIT vowel of Scottish origin is absent even from the speech of informants whose phonetics and phonologies are Scottish. Trudgill assigns this to the process of apparent levelling and argues that these features were probably not frequent enough at Stage 1, thus were not adopted by the children at Stage 2. The reduction of variants came about not as a result of accommodation; rather, certain features were not acquired at all. According to Trudgill, it is likely that this affected features at Stage 1 with a frequency below the threshold of 10 per cent.

Stage 3

The first two stages described above are commonly referred to as koinéisation. At the third stage, as a result of focussing, a more stable and crystallised dialect emerges. Kerswill and Trudgill (2005: 197) suggest that the speed at which a new dialect gains more "norm" and

stability depends on the type of linguistic input, in particular the differences between the input varieties involved. According to Trudgill, Stage 3 involves further, rather extensive accommodation, carried out by children, the second native-born generation. The children at Stage 3 typically live in a more stable social environment and have a more restricted set of variants from which to choose, in contrast with children at Stage 2. The process of accommodation is crucial at this third stage as "for each vowel and consonant variant, minority-variant users accommodate to majority-variant users as koinéisation progresses, and the majority form wins" (Trudgill, 2004: 127). Trudgill further argues that since the selections are made by children, social factors are of no importance in this process. He claims that in the case of NZE, speakers of south-east British English represented the largest immigrant group to New Zealand. Nevertheless, their number never exceeded 50 per cent. He concludes that the features that survived into modern NZE must have been present in the vernaculars of immigrants from other geographical areas. Minority variants survived only if they were simpler or unmarked. For instance, in NZE /ə/ is found in unstressed syllables in words such as *trusted*, *David* or *naked.* Despite the fact that this feature was present in the speech of only 32 per cent of the ONZE speakers it survived into the third stage due to the fact that /ə/ is less marked than /ɪ/ (Trudgill *et al*., 2000: 311). Further, if more than one variant survives the process of focussing, reallocation may take place. For instance, Australian English has two pronunciations of the lexical set DANCE: /æ/ found in the lower status and /a:/ in the more prestigious varieties. Trudgill suggests that both varieties were probably present in the dialect mixture in roughly the same proportions. In such situations reallocation is likely to occur.

However, the presence of certain features in a new dialect cannot always be explained by the processes described above. For such instances Trudgill (2004: 131) proposes the so-called "drift phenomenon", an important component of Stage 3. The concept was originally introduced by Sapir (1921), who claims that languages display similarities because they are derived from a common source and in their evolution they undergo similar linguistic changes. Trudgill (2004) argues that this claim might be relevant for new dialects which, in parallel with the source dialect, undergo the same changes, although not necessarily at the same speed and not always coinciding in all detail. These changes may develop even further in the colonial setting, as there are fewer social

constraints. Trudgill (2004: 131) distinguishes between two types of drift: (i) a result of changes that were taking place at the time of separation but then continued independently in the new location, and (ii) the shared tendencies or propensities which can result in the same changes taking place in both the donor and receiving varieties. The former type is illustrated, for instance, by the Diphthong Shift or loss of rhoticity. Such trends were, according to Trudgill (2004), present in English English at the point when the new Southern Hemisphere colonies were founded and their continuation can be detected in the Englishes of Southern Hemisphere. These changes in progress often advanced faster in the new colonial setting as a result of reduced pressure from prestige varieties. The latter type of drift includes scenarios where varieties with a common source show the same "tendencies", leading to similar changes even after separation. For example *HAPPY Tensing,* the presence of the non-centralised, tense /iː/ rather than /ɪ/ in the final unstressed position of *happy* or *money,* a feature commonly found in modern Southern Hemisphere Englishes. The ONZE corpus demonstrates that *HAPPY Tensing* was not present in the speech of older informants, thus it could not have been transmitted *via* the founders' input. According to Trudgill (2004: 137), this feature was "very rare in mid-nineteenth century Britain but is currently very rapidly becoming the norm". Trudgill (ibid.: 139) sees this change as a result of independent development brought about by the inherent "propensity to replace /ɪ/ by /iː/". This confirms the argument that the relative homogeneity found among the Southern Hemisphere varieties cannot always be assigned to dialect mixture, as in some cases it results from independent parallel developments.

Another question is what accounts for the lack of regional variation among most Southern Hemisphere varieties. Despite the fact that these varieties developed from diverse inputs, they demonstrate considerable geographical uniformity. Trudgill (2004: 161) suggests that this uniformity may partially be assigned to the process of drift as well as to increased mobility. Using the example of NZE he demonstrates that early New Zealanders were highly mobile and that "this was a society with relatively weak social network ties - precisely the sorts of ties that are the breeding ground for rapid supralocal linguistic change" (Trudgill 2004: 161-162). In other words, within a society that lacks speech norms, mobility may lead to uniformity. A similar viewpoint is adopted by Hickey (2003), who suggests that due to supraregionalisation a number of the original differences between the various centres would

have been eliminated. This theory was attested in nineteenth-century Ireland; it confirmed that dialect speakers progressively adopt more and more features of a non-regional variety with which they are in contact (Hickey, 2003: 236). As a result, the varieties lose their local features and become less regionally bound (Hickey, 2012: 2060). Therefore, supraregionalisation may be described as "a process of direct substitution: a local realization X for a feature is replaced by a mainstream realization Y, irrespective of its formal proximity to X" (Hickey, 2002: 123). The supraregional variety is not assignable to a certain subgroup in the society. It typically appears in larger urban centres with a demographically diverse population, the so-called melting pots (Trudgill *et al*., 2000: 305), from where it spreads to the more rural areas. Kerswill (2013: 239) argues that if such a supraregional variety appeared, it must have happened after the focussing process at Stage 3. He therefore suggests that Trudgill's (2004) model should be supplemented by Stage 4, at which "new-dialect formation is already complete at the local/regional level, and at which supraregionalization [*sic*] is about to set in" (ibid.). This claim appears to be in line with Hickey (2003), who identifies standardisation as one of the main forces that can lead to supraregionalization.

In conclusion, the main contribution of Trudgill's (2004) work is seen in the importance he places on the distribution of input variants, which is decisive for the shape of the newly forming dialect. However, as van Rooy (2010) points out, mainly due to the absence of Trudgill's consideration of social factors, the new-dialect formation model cannot offer a complete picture of language change and stability in the development of new varieties.

2.2.4. Linguistic and social forces in the development of new English varieties

Clearly, both Schneider (2007) and Trudgill (2004) base their models around language and/or dialect contact. The new-dialect formation model focuses primarily on the various dialect inputs at the new location. Trudgill (2004) stresses that the Anglophone settlers brought with them various dialects; the core of his model is, therefore, dialect contact leading to

dialect mixture. The Dynamic Model, on the other hand, focuses primarily on the contact between the STL and IDG strands and significant weight is placed on the individuals and their social identity. Schneider (2007) stresses the transition from exonormative to endonormative orientation in Phases 2 and 3, that is, the movement away from the original source towards an independent variety, often parallel to any political changes taking place in the territory. The dialect combinations in Phase 1 do not seem to be primary. Thus, it may be said that the focus of each model is different.

Nevertheless, there is a clear agreement that when speakers of different dialects of the same language come together, convergent linguistic accommodation occurs. The question, however, is why speakers of mutually intelligible dialects accommodate to each other in face-to-face contact situations. According to the accommodation theory, during convergent accommodation speakers aim to minimise linguistic differences by bringing their speech closer to their interlocutors' even though there is no communicative need to do so (Giles & Powesland 1975). Giles and Powesland (1975: 157) claim that "[t]he essence of the theory of accommodation lies in the social psychological research on similarity-attraction […] an individual can induce another to evaluate him more favourably by reducing dissimilarities between them." In other words, they see accommodation as a conscious process of making linguistic choices. However, more recently, the intentionality on the side of the speaker has been questioned and it has been suggested that accommodation should be viewed as a mechanical process. Keller (1994: 100), for instance, argues that accommodation is an automatic consequence of human interaction because the biologically-driven maxim "talk like others talk" is at work. Similarly, Pickering and Garrod (2004; citied in Tuten 2008) claim that the alignment occurring during accommodation is largely automatic and unconscious.

One of the most widely discussed issues in the field of new dialect formation is the interface between language and identity, i.e., whether accommodation is driven by social or by linguistic factors. Trudgill (2004), in line with Keller (1994), sees accommodation as a biologically-driven process. He argues that accommodation is not socially conditioned, instead it is an automatic, genetically pre-programmed process where changes are introduced by mechanisms of non-intentional selection (Trudgill, 2004: 27-8). He asserts that it is not necessary "to call on social features 'prestige' or 'stigma' as explanatory factors", nor does he see the need to include "notions such as 'identity'" (Trudgill, 2001: 44). In his

opinion speakers do not express the newly emerging national identity through linguistic choices. New mixed colonial varieties are not created by their speakers with the view to being linguistically different because

> [i]dentity factors cannot lead to the development of new linguistic features. It would be ludicrous to suggest that New Zealand English speakers deliberately developed, say, closer front vowels in order to symbolise some kind of local or national New Zealand identity.
>
> (Trudgill, 2004: 157)

Trudgill (2008: 251) admits that colonial settings might have given rise to new identities that were promoted by language. He argues that this may have happened as "a consequence of accommodation". A further reason why identity cannot be defined as the driving force in new-dialect formation is that the different combinations from the feature pool are selected by the first locally-born children and these are, unlike adults, unburdened by social factors such as prestige or stigma (Trudgill, 2008: 279). Therefore, the only relevant criteria for the variable selection are social demography and feature frequency. Given sufficient information about the input dialects and their proportions it can be predicted what features will appear in the new dialect (Trudgill *et al*., 2000: 299). The only time Trudgill (2004) sees social factors as potentially important is in Phase 1, which involves accommodation in the speech of adults.

Schneider (2003, 2007) adopts a different point of view and argues that social aspects are indeed the motivating factor in accommodation. According to him, "accommodation is one of the mechanisms of expressing one's identity choices" (Schneider, 2008: 262-3). In other words, he views accommodation as a conscious process on the part of the speaker, who is driven by reasons of establishing a common identity. The formation of a new dialect is influenced by the speaker's identity indirectly, i.e., it is not a goal-directed adoption of variants in order to express new identity. Rather, the new identity is reflected in "social relationships, which, in turn, shape communicative ecologies, and these then translate into feature uses" (Schneider, 2008: 264). The similar linguistic outcomes observed within new English varieties result from similar historical and socio-political situations which lead to similar patterns of identity construction (Schneider 2007).

As already pointed out, the different viewpoints may be partially explained by the fact that each model stresses a different developmental phase. There appears to be certain disagreement about the point in the formation process at which accommodation is of key importance. Trudgill (2004, 2008) argues that it is crucial in the initial stages when adult speakers of different dialects come together then again in Stage 3, in which it leads to the stabilisation of the selected features. For Schneider (2008: 263) accommodation is most significant only later, namely, in Phases 4 and 5 of the Dynamic Model, suggesting that new features are accepted only following the identity reconstruction.

The issue of the importance of social forces in the genesis of new varieties of English has been widely discussed. Numerous scholars have argued for the involvement of social factors. Lass (1990: 249), for instance, claims that rather than demographic origins, the "evolutionary and sociolinguistic" features are determinant in the formation of the new variety. A similar view is represented by Mufwene (2001), who agrees with Thomason's and Kaufman's (1988: 35) claim that:

> [i]t is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers and not the structure of their language that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact. Purely linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary overall.

Mufwene (2001) further suggests that the development of the new variety is determined by social relationships between the groups involved in the contact situation. Thus, he argues, the selection of features from the feature pool is influenced by social criteria such as prestige, stratification or access to the target language (ibid). However, in his later work, Mufwene (2008a: 258) agrees with Trudgill (2004) and argues that colonial identity "is not part of the complex of processes that produce 'new dialects'; it is a consequence or byproduct of it". Hickey (2003) likewise supports the view that social criteria such as prestige or social stratification are of significant importance. He does not agree with Trudgill (2004), who dismisses identity as a factor in Stages 2 and 3 of his model. He asserts that the process of variant selection from a dialect mixture "can be interpreted as motivated by speakers' gradual awareness of an embryonic variety of the immigrants' language, something which correlates with the distinctive profile of the new society which is speaking this variety"

(Hickey, 2003: 215). Hickey (ibid.: 214) admits that it is possible that this motivation appears only later, towards the end of Stage 3 of the new-dialect formation model, and therefore would not apply to the levelling of salient regional features in the early dialect mix. Similarly, Tuten (2008: 259) suggests that the emerging new identity is likely to influence the new variety yet only after the formation period. Coupland (2008: 267) also argues that "to rule out all issues of identity, particularly in circumstances of demographic movement and cultural mixing, seems unnecessarily restrictive." Holmes and Kerswill (2008: 274) acknowledge the importance of demographic factors; however, they add that "the challenge for sociolinguists working on new dialect formation must be to identify the range of social reasons that people adopt one linguistic form rather than another."

Hickey (2003) claims that not only the overall frequency of features, but also their status, i.e., whether or not they are socially stigmatised, is an important factor in the process of feature selection. He argues that immigrants of higher social ranks are able to contribute to the emerging variety more readily than are members of a lower social status, and therefore insists on more differentiated assessment of the status of the main ethnic groups in the period in question (Hickey, 2003: 213). Hickey (2003) points out that if we were to accept Trudgill's deterministic theory we would be dealing with an extremely egalitarian society – which settler's communities typically were not. He demonstrates with the example of New Zealand that there was a significant number of Irish settlers among the founding population in large settlements such as Auckland, Westland and Hawke's Bay, nevertheless, certain prominent features of Irish English did not surface in this variety (Hickey, 2003: 226). He suggests that the fact that settlers from the southern parts of Britain enjoyed a higher social status could account for the relatively minor influence of Irish English on NZE (Hickey, 2004: 12).

Hickey (2003) further criticises how Trudgill (Trudgill *et al*. 2000) relies heavily on the overall proportions of speakers and pays less attention to the geographical distribution of speakers of different varieties across the entire territory. He argues that local distribution of speakers varied greatly in New Zealand and led to differences in the frequency and patterns of communication among the population. Hickey (2003: 222) suggests that there must have been local differences with respect to the documented overall proportions of 49 per cent English, 22 per cent Scottish and 20 per cent Irish immigrants the dialect mixture was most

probably not uniform across the entire territory. Hickey (2003) further observes that immigrants of the same geographical origin tended to gather in the same locations in the new destinations. This presumption is confirmed by findings from other Anglophone settlements, mainly the United States and Newfoundland. It could therefore be expected that the Irish settlers in New Zealand clustered in areas with previous Irish immigration. In fact, the relevant data show that the Irish concentration in the rural areas of Westland was around 20 per cent, whereas in urban Auckland it was only around 10 per cent (Hickey, 2003: 228). Hickey (ibid.: 229) concludes that as a result, speakers were not exposed to the same variants in all areas.

Schreier (2003) questions whether the deterministic approach can account for instances of reallocation, that is, the existence of more than one variant, beyond the process of levelling. Further, he also points out that if determinism were the driving force in the process of levelling, it would be difficult to explain why the majority features are not always the ones that survive (Schreier, 2008: 24). He proposes the necessity of considering social factors in order to obtain a clearer picture of how feature selection and diffusion is resolved in new-dialect formation. Therefore, Schreier (2003: 201) suggests that:

> [p]roportional models need to be complemented with additional social information on the groups of people that come in contact, and more often than not it is factors such as socio-psychological influence and in-group prestige that determine the past of koinéisation or language adoption.

Schreier (2014: 244) further argues that not all features present in the feature pool have equal chances of being selected. According to him, the role of adults contributing features into the pool is underestimated. Schreier (2014: 243) demonstrates that a social environment influences which features children select into their vernacular. For instance, on Tristan da Cunha the men were away from the island for prolonged periods of time, leaving the women in charge of the households. Thus, the women were more influential in transmitting certain dialect features to their children. Similarly, on St Helena the majority of mothers came from the island, whereas the fathers were British (Schreier, 2014: 245). The mothers provided the more important input as they spent more time with their children (ibid.). Schreier (2014) comes to the conclusion that Trudgill's (2004: 108) claim that children

select features at will from a kind of supermarket of variants (the feature pool) is acceptable, following the premises that:

> (1) selection is not a haphazard unguided process, but to some extent guided by the setup of the social environment, (2) children are free to make their own choices, yet constrained by their immediate environment, and (3) the feature pool is not an undifferentiated mass every individual feeds into, but rather a socially-sensitive construct that hosts transmitters with various degrees of influence.
>
> (Schreier, 2014: 246)

The claim that Trudgill's (2004) deterministic approach is incomplete is supported by Baxter *et al*. (2009), who with the help of computer modelling tested the model of new-dialect formation. They attempted to evaluate whether NZE could have developed in accordance with the deterministic approach suggested by Trudgill (2004). Although their analysis confirmed the proposed scenario, it demonstrated that the stabilisation of the variety could not have occurred within the period of two locally-born generations proposed by Trudgill (2004). Baxter *et al*. (2009) therefore conclude that reliance on frequency factors is insufficient. They suggest that speakers' attitudes about prestige variants or their striving for distinctiveness must be taken into consideration in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the evolution of a new variety.

In sum, the formation of a new dialect is complex, with overlaps of processes and phases. Although dialect input is a decisive factor initially, it appears that the selection of features from the feature pool, as well as the shape of the final product, is governed by social and linguistic principles. Since both factors influence the dynamics of the particular situation, it is difficult to predict which path the newly arising variety will follow in its development. Social factors often have the power to change the course at any stage by making the conditions either more or less favourable for any of the linguistic processes to take place. As a result, each dialect contact creates a different contact situation with its own unique ecology and triggers different linguistic changes. The formation of a new dialect must always be viewed within its wider social and historical context, a complexity that cannot simply be described by universal processes.

2.3. Diaspora and language change

As the term "diaspora" is used in the thesis to refer to the ex-Rhodesian community in London, the next section will provide a definition of the concept. It appears that the task of defining the term "diaspora" is not straightforward, mainly due to the fact that the concept itself is rather controversial, and thus far no universality of the term has been accepted. A commonly cited definition comes from Safran (1991: 83-84), who describes diaspora groups according to six criteria. Diasporas are, Safran suggests:

i) dispersed groups from an original centre to at least two peripheral places
ii) who maintain a memory or myth about their homeland
iii) who believe they are not fully accepted by their host country
iv) who see the ancestral homeland as a place of return when the time is right
v) who are committed to the maintenance, safety and prosperity of the homeland, and
vi) who have group consciousness and solidarity.

Safran's (1991) definition has received a certain amount of criticism, pointing mainly to the fact that it cannot be applied to many groups that are nowadays perceived as diasporas, and secondly, that diaspora communities do not necessarily strive to return to their homeland (Faist 2010, Clifford 1994).

Cohen (2008) proposes the addition of four additional criteria to those listed by Safran (1991). He suggests that: i) we should include groups that disperse for a colonial and voluntarist reason; ii) there should be wider recognition of the positive virtues of retaining diasporic identity; iii) diasporas mobilise a collective identity, and iv) diaspora can be used to describe transnational bonds of co-responsibility even where historically exclusive territorial claims are not strongly articulated (Cohen, 2008: 8). It appears that this approach is more inclusive because it can also be applied, for example, to the so-called labour diasporas.

Another attempt to provide a definition of diaspora comes from Brubaker (2005: 5), who suggests that a diaspora may be identified on the basis of the three following criteria: i) dispersion in space; ii) an orientation towards the "homeland", and iii) a boundary-

maintenance *vis-à-vis* a host society. Brubaker (ibid.) further observes that dispersion may be connected to a traumatic experience, and that the diasporic identity is mainly shaped by the orientation towards homeland. The main actions of the diaspora tend to be determined by the strength of the ties, collective memory, shared narratives and the desire for an eventual return to the homeland. In addition, Brubaker (ibid.) points out that a distinct diasporic identity *vis-à-vis* the host land is preserved either by resistance to assimilation, by segregation or by exclusion on the part of the host society. Finally, a typical trait of diasporas is generational continuation. Second- or third-generation members may be well integrated yet not completely assimilated, since they might maintain ties to the ancestral homeland (Brubaker, 2005: 6-7). Brubaker (2005) concludes by suggesting that in modern interpretations of the term "diaspora" the emphasis lies, rather than on the idea of return, on generational continuation and sustained attachment to the homeland. He proposes that "we should think of diaspora not in substantialist terms as a bounded entity, but rather as an idiom, a stance, a claim." (Brubaker, 2005: 12).

Second dialect acquisition

With regard to the current study, the changes in the political situation in Rhodesia, especially in the years before Independence, led to the relocation of English speakers to London, which had linguistic consequences. This type of relocation, i.e., the migration of individuals or small groups to an area with a dominant target dialect, commonly results in situations of second dialect acquisition. In such instances, after a period of time the speech of migrating individuals changes; they typically lose traits of their native dialects and adopt those characteristic of the new location (Trudgill, 1986: 16). This process is referred to as second dialect acquisition; however, terms such as dialect levelling or dialect convergence are also commonly employed. The study of second dialect acquisition examines how people who already speak one dialect (D1) acquire a different dialect (D2). By and large, linguists view the process of second dialect acquisition as resulting from language accommodation (discussed in Section 2.2.4). According to Trudgill (1986) and Chambers (1992), permanent

changes to an adult's pronunciation in the direction of D2 result from an accumulation of short-term convergences in face-to-face interactions with speakers of this D2. Trudgill (1986: 16) asserts that in instances of second dialect acquisition frequent accommodations "may become a permanent part of a speaker's accent or dialect, even replacing original features".

The extent to which individual speakers accommodate to the new dialect depends on a number of factors. These may be roughly divided into two categories: individual factors relating to speakers, and linguistic factors relating to variables. The former are concerned with the characteristics of individual speakers and are often collectively labelled "social parameters" (Kerswill 1994), "independent variables" (Labov 2001), or "speaker-related factors" (Rys 2007). They include, for instance, the age of acquisition, length of residence in the new location, degree of social interaction with D2 speakers, attitudes, motivation or identity construction. The second include parameters such as the linguistic level, complexity of rules and salience of the target dialect.

With regard to the social parameters, the most significant variable appears to be the age of acquisition, often also described as the age of arrival or age of onset (Siegel, 2010: 84). As for the acquisition of D2 features, studies typically show a pattern described as "younger equals better". Although there appear to be certain differences with regard to different linguistic levels, the optimum age of acquisition is seven years old, with variable success up to the age of thirteen (Siegel, 2010: 219). Wells (1973: 118), based on his study of the speech of Jamaicans in London, confirms that, although adolescents and adults who find themselves in a new linguistic environment are capable of adapting their speech to a certain degree by modifying the phonetic realisation of their phonemes, they typically do not completely acquire new phonological oppositions or succeed in altering the distributional restraints on their original phonology.

The length of residence is another factor commonly examined in studies of second dialect acquisition. Foreman (2003), based on her study of second dialect acquisition in Australia, suggests that there is a correlation between the length of residence and the degree of accommodation. She observed that a longer length of residence resulted in higher percentages of AusE pronunciation. This is in accordance with Chambers (1992), Al-Dashti (1998) and Watts (2000), who all show that longer exposure to D2 leads to its more

successful acquisition. Nevertheless, certain studies have shown that an extensive length of residence does not necessarily lead to accommodation and to second dialect acquisition (Foreman 2003; Stanford 2007). Another area of investigation in relation to the length of residence concerns the minimum time required for second dialect acquisition to take place. Chambers (1992: 680) argues that "dialect acquirers make most of the lexical replacements they will make in the first two years" and Siegel (2010: 103) suggests that the same holds for pronunciation replacements.

Yet another individual factor appears to be social identity, a term that refers to "the part of a person's self-image based on the characteristics and attitudes of the social group or groups which that person belongs to or aspires to belong to" (Siegel, 2010: 108). In other words, individuals expressing identification with the D2 dialect area are likely to be more successful in acquiring the D2 features, whereas speakers who continue to identify with the D1 area may have the tendency to retain the features of their original dialects.

For accommodation and second dialect acquisition to take place there must be a sufficient amount of social interaction with speakers of the D2 host community. It appears that the degree of exposure and integration into the D2-speaking community has implications for the acquisition of features of the D2. Patterns of interaction are often described by the term "social network". The amount of accommodation that takes place depends on the nature of the social network. With regard to language change in the new linguistic environment, dense multiplex social networks, where the immigrants are in close and regular contact with other fellow immigrants, commonly lead to the retention of the D1 (Siegel, 2010: 112). Bortoni-Ricardo (1985: 116-117) describes these as "insulated" networks and claims that they are characterised by ties with relatives and acquaintances from the place of origin and individuals often live in close proximity. On the other hand, open uniplex networks or "integrated" networks involve contacts with a wide range of people who do not belong to the immigrant community. Such networks typically promote the acquisition of the D2 (Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985: 116-117). A further factor to influence the degree of D1 maintenance is the level of contact maintained with the homeland. It appears that sustained transnational ties often promote the retention of the D1.

Finally, the motivation or attitudes of the incomers towards the D2 or D2-speaking community may play a role in the process of accommodation and second dialect acquisition (Siegel, 2010: 116). In the case of second language acquisition a distinction is usually drawn between the "instrumental orientation", which relates to the need of the speaker to acquire the L2 for communicative value, and the "integrative orientation", which relates to the speaker's desire to identify with the host community (Siegel, 2010: 116). In second dialect acquisition situations, there is typically no need to acquire the new dialect for purposes of communication, and therefore the "integrative orientation" appears to be of greater relevance. In other words, greater integrative orientation typically yields more positive attitudes towards the host community and results in greater motivation to acquire the second dialect. At the same time, acquirers who are less eager to integrate may retain the linguistic features of their native dialect. Kerswill (1994), in his study of rural speech in urban Norway, claims that speakers' attitudes towards their own original dialect are equally important. He found that the more positive attitudes speakers had towards their own dialect, the more they tended to use the D1 lexical and morphosyntactic features which, in turn, led to their retention.

Having considered the social parameters, it appears that the most important factors that influence second dialect acquisition are the age at which the speaker begins to acquire the second dialect, the degree of social interaction with the "host" speech community and the extent of identification with that community.

With regard to the linguistic parameters, Trudgill (1986) suggests the following order in which linguistic variables are adopted in situations of long-term accommodation:

1. Lexical variables
2. Phonological variables
    a) "natural" and phonetically predictable differences (e.g., Americans in London learning to "unflap" their intervocalic /t/)
    b) regular phonemic differences in simple lexical sets (e.g., Americans in London using [ɑ:] for /æ/ in the BATH lexical set)
    c) "complex" changes. Such changes may never be accommodated to

- reversal of mergers (Canadians in London learning to “undo” the low-back vowel merger)
- use of forms that violate native phonotactic constrains
- phonemic differences in unpredictable lexical sets.

This claim is also supported by Chambers (1992: 677), who, based on his research into Canadian youngsters acquiring the southern British accent of Oxfordshire, asserts that lexical variants are acquired faster than are pronunciation and phonological variants. Chambers (1992: 680) found that the group of Canadian migrant children acquired 50 per cent of the lexical forms examined, in comparison to 25 per cent of the phonological forms studied in their first two years in the host community. Chambers (1992: 682) further confirms that “simple” rules (dependent on automatic exceptionless distinctions) are more quickly and successfully adopted than are the “complex” ones (such as distinctions with exceptions, variant forms and/or abstract linguistic conditioning, phonological splits, new phonemes etc.). Chambers’ comparison of the acquisition of the unvoiced British English /t/ (a simple change from Canadian voiced [d]) with the TRAP-BATH split (phonologically complex rule) proved that the simple rule was acquired on average in 45 per cent of the youngsters while the latter in only around 10 per cent of them.

As well as the linguistic level and complexity of rules, discussed above, another factor that appears to influence the acquisition of particular D2 features is salience. The concept of salience has been defined by several scholars. Hickey (2000: 57) suggests that “salience is a reference to the degree to which speakers are aware of some linguistic feature”. Kerswill and Williams (2002: 81) describe salience as “the property of a linguistic item or feature that makes it in some way perceptually and cognitively prominent” (Kerswill & Williams 2002). Finally, Siegel (2010: 129) suggests that salience “refers to the characteristic of being easily noticeable, prominent or conspicuous”. It may be concluded that a linguistic variable is salient if speakers notice it. The definitions fail, however, to mention why one variable should be more noticeable than any other.

Trudgill (1986: 11) asserts that “in contact with speakers of other language varieties, speakers modify those features of their own varieties of which they are most aware”. He

further suggests that salience can be due to the following factors: stigmatisation (if a variant sounds too uneducated or too rural); linguistic change (when a variant is undergoing a linguistic change); phonetic distance (a variable is "radically different" from the corresponding one) and phonological contrast (if a variable is involved with a distinguishing meaning) (ibid.). Nevertheless, if a D2 feature is salient, it does not necessarily mean that it is easily accommodated to. Trudgill (1986: 16) acknowledges that there are other intervening factors which can "delay, inhibit or even prevent accommodation".

Kerswill and Williams (2002) argue that extra-linguistic factors may be crucial in determining salience. They suggest that "cognitive, pragmatic, interactional, social psychological and sociodemographic factors" can be decisive (Kerswill & Williams, 2002: 105). At the same time, they acknowledge that at least one language-internal factor is necessary for a feature to be salient. With regard to dialect convergence and divergence Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005: 45) assert that "it may not be possible, even in principle, to predict levels of salience. It may also be impossible to determine whether a given level of salience, once established, leads to the adoption or the non-adoption of a feature." It may therefore be concluded that salience alone is not a sufficient condition for D2 acquisition.

In sum, the most important linguistic factors in second dialect acquisition appear to be the linguistic level of the variable (lexical, phonological and morphological) and rule complexity. Salience seems to be a less straightforward factor.

Numerous studies focusing on the acquisition of a D2 sound system have proven that adults' speech does change as a result of moving to a new dialect area. For instance, Evans and Iverson (2007) studied speakers of a Northern British English dialect being exposed to Standard Southern British English. The subjects were studied at four different times: before beginning university in southern England, three months after beginning university, then after their first and their second years at university. The results revealed that the speakers showed the centralisation of the Northern vowel /ʊ/ (in the words *bud* and *cud*) towards the Standard Southern British English /ʌ/. Also, after spending time in southern England, the speakers were rated as more Southern-sounding.

Foreman (2000) studied the second dialect acquisition of Australian English by American English speakers. She looked at the following features: non-prevocalic /r/, which clearly

appears in American English, yet is not present in Australian English. Further, the differences in realisation of /ɪ/, which is higher in Australian English than in American English, and /o/, typically realised as [oʊ] or [o] in American English and as [ɐʊ] or [ɑʊ] in Australian English. The speakers showed significant variability in the extent to which they had acquired the phonetic variables. In addition, Foreman (2000) observes that the speakers who described themselves as more Australian may have been more likely to acquire the Australian variants than those who identified themselves as American.

2.4. English in southern and eastern Africa

The history of English in Africa can be traced to the end of the sixteenth century, when English started to spread along the West African coast. The main reason was trade, which resulted in the establishment of non-permanent settlements. Görlach (1991: 126) points out that

> [a]ll the British needed were stepping stones to the Caribbean and to India and Australia, and this objective could be achieved by the possession of islands (such as St. Helena and Mauritius) or ports and forts […] larger colonies would have been considered rather a burden.

The British trade in West Africa therefore resulted in the emergence of English-lexifier pidgins. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that English was brought to southern Africa. In 1806 the British seized the Cape Colony, a territory previously occupied by the Dutch. The Anglophone immigration continued in the following years, bringing considerable numbers of English-speaking people to the Eastern Cape in 1820 and to Natal between 1848 and 1862. In the 1850s English started to spread from southern Africa to the east. Following the discovery of gold and diamonds at Witwatersrand, more settler colonies were established in southern and eastern Africa.

The spread of English in Africa has led to the emergence of three major strands: West African, East African and South African English (Jenkins, 2009: 97). Due to the complex

colonial history, English in Africa can be broadly categorised according to speakers:

(a) native English of African-born whites and expatriates;
(b) native English of locally born Africans;
(c) non-native English spoken fluently as a second language;
(d) non-native English spoken imperfectly as a foreign language.

(Angogo & Hancock, 1980: 71)

Unlike in West Africa, settlement colonies existed in southern and eastern Africa and although the Anglophone settlers never became numerically superior to the indigenous population, they dominated the native population. Apart from a sizeable group of white native English speakers in South Africa, smaller groups were, and still are, present in Botswana, Kenya, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Trudgill and Hannah (1994: 29) observe that these native forms of English bear a close resemblance to WSAfE.

In Botswana, a British protectorate from 1885 until 1966, the Anglophone population never exceeded 3,000 (Watts & Trudgill, 2002: 43). Currently, it is estimated that the white Anglophone community is even smaller, despite including a high number of non-permanent residents, mainly white expatriates who typically work on short-term contracts (McIntyre, 2010: 35). Because nowadays Botswana appears to have no stable group of Anglophone descendants, the status of the distinct L1 variety in this territory is not clear (Schreier *et al*., 2010: 11).

Kenya, a British protectorate from 1890 until 1963, was one of Africa's few large-scale European settlements. A significant number of Anglophones, mainly from South Africa and Britain, began to settle in the territory towards the end of the nineteenth century (Schneider, 2007: 189). They were predominantly drawn from higher social strata (Kennedy 1987). In 1962 a white community numbering 55,000 members lived in Kenya, although when Kenya gained Independence in 1963 many white settlers left the country (Hofmann, 2010: 291). Hoffmann (ibid.) estimates that there are currently between 30,000 and 40,000 white speakers of Kenyan English. White Kenyan English (WhKE) is said to have undergone two phases of the Dynamic Model, foundation and exonormative stabilisation, and has apparently entered the phase of nativisation (Hofmann 2010). Whether WhKE will undergo further nativisation depends upon how stable the political situation will be for the whites to

stay, as well as upon the sociolinguistic contact between the STL and IDG strands (Hoffman, 2010: 309). A linguistic description of WhKE, the L1 English variety spoken by a stable white Kenyan community, is provided by Hoffmann (2010).

In Namibia the European ancestors constitute approximately 6 per cent of the total population, with 0.5 per cent Anglophones of British origin (Watts & Trudgill, 2002: 44). Given the history of the settlement, most white Namibians are Afrikaners, and a considerable number of their descendants are of German and Portuguese origin. Since Namibia was once a German colony, Germans were the original white settlers. However, after World War I the German residents were outnumbered by Afrikaners. Namibia English has gained more significance only recently, especially after Independence in 1990, when it became the country's only official language. For the majority of Namibians, English is a second or third language (McIntyre, 2011: 27).

So far, it has been demonstrated that the native varieties of English are nowadays relatively insignificant in southern and eastern Africa. The most dominant L1 variety in this territory remains WSAfE which, according to Bowerman (2008), was an influential model of L1 varieties that crystallised in the neighbouring countries in southern and eastern Africa and often provided the input into these Englishes. The L1 English spoken in Zimbabwe is considered an offshoot of WSAfE (Bowerman, 2008: 164). The Rhodesian settler society is often viewed as a fragment of the white South African settlement, more precisely a fragment of seventeenth-century Dutch and nineteenth-century British societies (Pollack, 1975: 135). English has functioned as an official language in South Africa since the early Anglophone settlement. In 1910 Dutch (later changed to Afrikaans) became a second official language in Cape Colony. English and Afrikaans have since 1944 shared official status with nine African languages (Gough 1995). WSAfE is typologically a post-eighteenth-century southern English dialect with its roots in successive waves of British immigration. The two dominant settlements deriving from British occupation are Cape and Natal. In 1806 the Cape colony was settled by "a sizeable number of English speakers, comprising several thousand officials and soldiers, and some traders and farmers" (Mesthrie, 1993: 27). However, the first permanent settlement can be dated to 1820, when another wave of immigrants arrived in the Eastern Cape. The Cape settlers were mainly of working-class origin from all over Britain and the original input therefore consisted of various regional dialects (Bowerman, 2008:

165). According to Mesthrie (1993: 27), dialects of London and surrounding areas seem to have constituted the main input into Cape English. Further, the close and intensive contact with the Dutch settlers is reflected in the fact that Cape English was phonetically influenced by Afrikaans (Wells, 1982: 611). The local African languages contributed vocabulary items, mainly for flora and fauna (Gordon & Sudbury, 2002: 75). Lanham (1996: 20) asserts that the formation of a distinct local English was accelerated by the lack of contact with and attachments to Britain among the first settlers.

The next main settlement in South Africa was established in Natal, settled between 1848 and 1862 by considerable numbers of English settlers (Wells, 1982: 611). Compared to Cape Colony, Natal had relatively few settlers from the south of England. Rather, the most important input came from northern British dialects (Gordon & Sudbury, 2002: 75). The proportions of immigrants from the middle and upper classes, in general speakers of more standard varieties, was much higher in Natal (Lass, 1987: 302). Those English speakers had more limited contact with Afrikaans speakers than did their Cape counterparts. In addition, the population tended to be more urban than in Cape Colony. As a result, the Englishes spoken in the two settler territories differed and remained distinct for a considerable period of time. It appears that in Natal there was less social and regional differentiation and social distinctions were largely preserved (Lanham, 1982: 325).

The last influx of settlers to South Africa followed in the 1870s and was triggered by the discovery of gold and diamonds in the Voortrekker republics. This particular wave consisted mainly of immigrants from Great Britain and from eastern and western Europe (Lanham, 1982: 327). While the settlement of Eastern Cape and Natal is considered to be the main input into a distinct South African variety, the last settler wave is believed to have influenced the development of social-class dialects (Bekker, 2009: 73). As a result, modern WSAfE, in terms of social variation, can be divided into Cultivated, General and Broad, also referred to as “The Great Trichotomy” (Lass 2002). The Cultivated variety is closest to RP and is typically associated with the upper class; General WSAfE is spoken by the middle class and Broad WSAfE is a social indicator of the working class and speakers who are of Afrikaans descent (Bowerman, 2004: 931).

As demonstrated above, in the territory of South Africa various forms of English came into contact under different social circumstances which yielded several post-colonial

varieties; these are all commonly described by the cover term WSAfE. Lanham (1996) suggests that WSAfE, a distinct dialect, was formed by speakers born in South Africa between 1820 and 1860. Of importance for the formation process was the contact with Afrikaans as well as with the local African languages. Schneider (2007: 175-181) argues that there is little evidence that the local African languages had in the early stages of settlement a significant effect on the formation of the new variety. Nowadays, L1 English is a minority language in South Africa associated with 1.7 million native speakers or 8.2 per cent of the entire population (*The Report*: South Africa, 2013: 18). The majority of South Africans are speakers of Bantu languages, the most dominant being Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana and Soto. South Africa could be said to belong to both the ENL/ESL or Inner- and Outer-Circle countries.

2.4.1. Rhodesian English vowels

To date there is a considerable lack of research into Rhodesian English. The only insight into this subject is offered by Fitzmaurice (2010), who studied the present-day variety spoken by speakers born before Independence in 1980. Her sociolinguistic study offers an account of the key phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic features. Fitzmaurice (2010) observes that similarly to other Southern Hemisphere varieties, RhodE displays a high degree of uniformity with minimal regional differences. However, variation is determined by social status and a similar trichotomy to that found in WSAfE exists. The conservative variety appears to be marked by obsolete RP features (Fitzmaurice 2010). The findings concerning the vowel system are summarised below (ibid.: 275-8).

Short monophthongs

KIT

The KIT vowel is clearly centralised, realised as [ɪ̈] sometimes approaching [ə] in all environments.

DRESS

The most common realisation of DRESS is [e]. The vowel is fronted and raised to the extent that *yes* is pronounced as *yis*.

TRAP

TRAP is a front raised vowel realised in the vicinity of [ɛ ~ ɛ̝].

LOT

LOT is realised as a weakly rounded not fully open vowel in the range of [ɒ ~ ɑ].

FOOT

Older speakers realise FOOT as fully rounded half-close back vowel [ʊ]. Younger speakers show a lower tendency towards rounding and fronting and pronounce this vowel as [ʉ̟].

STRUT

STRUT is a raised mid-vowel [ɐ̝], sometimes further fronted in the range of [ä].

HAPPY

In the unstressed final vowel of words such as *happy*, speakers of RhodE use a vowel which is clearly nearer [iː].

Long monophthongs

FLEECE

A very close and fronted realisation [i̟], in some cases shortened and tensed. No gliding or diphthongisation is noted.

GOOSE

GOOSE is realised as a close, fronted vowel [ʉː]. Lip contraction is typically found in the speech of younger speakers.

NURSE

Generally a rounded tense vowel [ø̈ː]. Older speakers of conservative varieties may realise it as unrounded /ɜː/.

THOUGHT

THOUGHT is typically raised and most commonly realised as [oː].

BATH

In most instances BATH shows a retracted and rounded realisation between [ɑː ~ ɒː]. Speakers of more conservative varieties have less rounded and lower vowel in this lexical set.

2.5. Summary

This Chapter has aimed to provide an overview of the spread of English by discussing the historical diasporas of English and the models applied in classifying new English varieties. It was demonstrated that dialects were exported to overseas locations at different times and from different locations in the British Isles, which is reflected in the classification of English varieties. Further, it was suggested that both the ENL/ESL/EFL model and Kachru's (1985) Three Circles model, which classify these varieties on the basis of national entities and history, are insufficient to capture current developments. It was argued that the foundation of overseas colonies resulted in situations where contact between distinct English dialects, on the one hand, and language contact, on the other, played a key role in the emergence of new English varieties. Attention was, therefore, paid to frameworks that consider the diversification of English into numerous varieties from the point of view of language contact and suggest that, notwithstanding the considerable diversity in colonial settings in the new

locations, certain uniform developmental processes and cycles are clearly identifiable. Following the outline of Mufwene's (2001) evolutionary model of language change, Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model and Trudgill's (2004) new-dialect formation model, both of which build on the work of Mufwene (2001), were reviewed. It was demonstrated that mixing of several inputs is crucial in new-dialect formation. The contact between the different varieties sets off the process of feature selection which, eventually, leads to the formation of a new dialect. The complexity of the formation process is such that it is difficult to generalise and single out the factors responsible for producing new varieties of English in colonial settings. Certain roles may be assigned to the overall proportion of the features, salience, the prestige of individual features and to the socio-demographic circumstances in a given location. However, as has emerged from the current chapter, in order to determine what developmental paths a variety followed, the deterministic approach seems neither to offer a complete picture nor to provide a sufficient explanation as to why certain features succeed in the selection process. It was argued that a social approach to koinéisation needs to be adopted. Extra-linguistic factors such as the historical and sociolinguistic background appear to determine the process of feature selection and the evolution of a new variety. A careful analysis of the ecology of the contact situation, in addition to the overall frequency of features, contributes to the understanding of the linguistic developments; it may offer an explanation as to why certain properties appear in any particular language variety. In addition, independent developments have to be taken into account. Next, the chapter addressed the question of language change in diasporic situations by focusing on second dialect acquisition. It was established that the extent to which individual speakers acquire the new dialect depends mainly both on individual factors relating to speakers and on linguistic factors relating to variables. Further, in order to provide a wider context for the study of RhodE evolution, the Chapter paid attention to the topic of English in eastern and southern Africa. It was demonstrated that except for South Africa, another Britain's principal settler colony in Africa was Kenya. Finally, a description of the RhodE vowel system based on the only available study of this variety was provided.

3. Methodology

3.0. Introduction

Chapter Three describes the fieldwork and the methods involved in obtaining and the handling of the acoustic data used in this study. It is divided into seven Sections: Sections 3.1 and 3.2 deal with the methodological issues of data collection. First, the initial contact with the community and the selection of informants is described. Next, a description of the informants and their background is given and the structure of the recording process is outlined. Section 3.3 describes the method of measuring of the acoustic data; Section 3.4 focuses on vowel normalisation and plotting. Section 3.5 provides information about data from the other English accents that are used in this study. Section 3.6 defines the system applied for the vowel description, and finally, in Section 3.7 a short summary is offered.

3.1. Informants

The socio-political changes following Zimbabwe's Independence led to decolonisation, during which many white Rhodesians left the country. The majority settled in other English-speaking countries, where they have attempted to continue their common heritage. This is mainly achieved through websites that enable ex-Rhodesians living in the diaspora in different parts of the world to communicate in virtual environments. Apart from the opportunity to share life stories, reminiscences or comments on the current situation in Zimbabwe, the Internet also offers the chance to maintain and develop the sense of a common Rhodesian identity.

The first contact with the ex-Rhodesians in London was established through an organisation called *Rhodesians Worldwide.* The organisation publishes a contact magazine in both on-line and printed versions aimed at the Rhodesian diaspora worldwide. It has been published for over thirty years, appearing quarterly. The typical content of each issue consists of stories from Zimbabwe, articles about Rhodesians in the diaspora, contact details

for friends and families across the world and various advertisements. It also lists links to other relevant websites. In order to recruit informants I placed a short description of the current research in the advertising section of the magazine. I was contacted by Rhodesians living in London who were willing to participate in the study. The first informants provided me with further contacts, mainly their friends, colleagues or family members, whom I approached using the technique of "friend of a friend".

The linguistic study was on a small scale. Acoustic data from twelve subjects, five males and seven females between the ages of 30 and 64, were collected. The informants were born in the territory of today's Zimbabwe between 1946 and 1980. The selection of informants was random, the only bias being that they should be L1 English speakers, white, and born and bred in (Southern) Rhodesia with no previous extensive stay abroad. All of the informants were first-generation migrants who joined the diaspora between 1995 and 2008, after Zimbabwe attained Independence. The interviewees were educated individuals, all having completed at least high school and a considerable number had a university-level education. In general, they came from a similar socio-economic background and pursued mainly middle-class occupations. Prior to the recording the participants were informed that the recording was being made for purposes of research and that they would remain anonymous during the research and publication.

Several studies into the subject of the Zimbabwean community in the diaspora have been published in the recent years. These, however, focus exclusively on the black Zimbabwean community and are concerned with the second-generation diaspora (Mbiba 2005; Bloch 2006; McGregor 2007). Since published information about the white ex-Rhodesian/Zimbabwean community in the United Kingdom and London is almost non-existent, in addition to the interviews the informants were asked supplementary questions. Of main interest was the reason for their emigration, the choice of the United Kingdom over other possible destinations, the way they entered the country and whether they emigrated alone or within complete families. Further, questions related to the informants' lives in London were asked, in particular whether they faced difficulties in settling down in London and finding a job. Another topic discussed concerned regular contact with other white ex-Rhodesians, both in London and in Zimbabwe as well as in other parts of the world.

Table 3.1: Informants' background

Speaker	Age group	Gender	Arrived in London	Origins		Highest education
				Country	Region	
speaker 1 FC	60-64	F	2005	British	urban	high school
speaker 2 LW	35-39	F	1995	South Africa	rural	high school
speaker 3 SJ	35-39	F	1998	Afrikaner	urban	high school
speaker 4 GG	40-44	F	2001	British	urban	university
speaker 5 SH	40-44	F	2001	South Africa	rural	high school
speaker 6 GE	30-34	F	2006	British	urban	university
speaker 7 AC	30-34	F	2008	British	urban	university
speaker 8 JC	60-64	M	2005	British	urban	university
speaker 9 DB	55-59	M	2002	British	urban	university
speaker 10 WJ	40-44	M	1998	South Africa	urban	high school
speaker 11 RW	35-39	M	1995	British	urban	high school
speaker 12 JH	30-34	M	2005	British	urban	university

3.2. Interviews

The data were collected during two field trips to London in 2009 and 2010 in the form of sociolinguistic interviews. The aim was to obtain data that would be as close as possible to unmonitored speech. Therefore, in order to avoid the asymmetric power relationship often present during formal interviews when informants are asked direct questions (Milroy, 1987: 47), I opted for spontaneous speech. The choice of the location in which the interviews were recorded was crucial in ensuring that natural speech data were collected. Therefore, the interviews were conducted in informal settings, the majority in the speakers' own homes.

The topics of the interviews were predominantly connected with the informants' memories of Rhodesia and their current lives in London. They included themes such as everyday life in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, family history, education, leaving Zimbabwe and settling in the United Kingdom. Open questions were asked and the speakers were informed that my interference would be minimal. In most cases this proved to be successful, although in some instances the informants, too, asked questions about me during the interview. Although efforts were made to reduce the strength of the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972), it is likely that informants did monitor their speech somewhat during the recordings. In accordance with Milroy (1987: 37), who suggests that phonological data can be obtained in twenty to thirty minutes, the length of each of the interviews was approximately thirty minutes. I opted for one-to-one interviews. On several occasions, though, there were two speakers, both ex-Rhodesians, involved in the same conversation. The interviews were recorded using a Zoom H2 Handy Recorder. The device was placed on a surface, usually a table, between me and the informant. The data were recorded in WAV format. The sound files were transferred directly onto a computer into a database. In all, the twelve recordings resulted in approximately five hours of recording time. The recordings were of acceptable quality.

3.3. Data measurements

The main reason for choosing the acoustic analysis of vowels was that it enables objective examination of the important descriptive vowel characteristics, such as height or fronting, based on the F1 and F2 parameters. Through such measurements, the relative articulatory position of the vowel realisation can be described. The acoustic analysis focused on stressed short monophthongs KIT, DRESS, TRAP, LOT, STRUT, FOOT and long monophthongs FLEECE, GOOSE, THOUGHT, BATH and NURSE. For each short and long monophthong ten tokens were measured and analysed for every informant. The respective data for male and female speakers were analysed separately. Overall, for short monophthongs the analysis included 420 tokens for the female speakers and 300 for the male speakers. For long monophthongs 320 tokens for the females and 250 for the males were subjected to analysis. The measurements were executed using the computer programme Praat (Boersma & Weeknink

2007). Environments where vowels occurred after /j/, /w/, /r/ were, where possible, avoided because of coarticulatory influence. For the GOOSE and FOOT vowels there were not always enough tokens for this constraint to be followed. The vowel boundaries were determined manually; the beginning- and end-points of the relevant vowels were marked. In some cases the points of segmentation were very clear, while in other instances I had to rely more heavily on my judgement. Following segmentation a double TextGrid was created. On the first level the entire word was annotated, which made it easier to trace the particular environment in which the selected vowel occurred. On the second level of the TextGrid the vowel itself was indicated. Subsequently, the data were subjected to a script "Vokalanalyse 3" (written by Professor Dellwo from the Phonetics Laboratory of Zurich University). Relevant measurements for the overall duration of each vowel and corresponding formant values F0-F3 were retrieved. Prior to plotting, the raw Hertz formant frequencies were normalised.

3.4. Normalisation and plotting

The physiological and anatomical differences of the speakers' vocal tracts result in differences in the formant values among speakers. Since the vocal tract of female speakers is typically shorter, their formant values have higher resonance frequencies than those of male speakers. Therefore, the raw Hertz formant frequencies of different speakers cannot be directly compared (Watt, Fabricius & Kendall 2010). To resolve this issue, the vowel formants need to be normalised in order to make them comparable across groups of individuals. Normalisation neutralises the differences that exist in the formant data among speakers, given the natural differences in their individual vocal tracts. In the past, a number of normalisation techniques yielding different outcomes have been proposed. According to Thomas and Kendall (2007), these may roughly be divided according to whether they are vowel-intrinsic or -extrinsic, formant-intrinsic or -extrinsic, speaker-intrinsic or -extrinsic, or a combination of these. Vowel-intrinsic techniques use information contained in a single vowel token in order to normalise that vowel. Often, various combinations of formant values are used. Vowel-extrinsic formulae, on the other hand, make use of the formant values of

different vowels produced by one speaker. A further distinction is between speaker-intrinsic and speaker-extrinsic methods. While the first normalise based on information from a single speaker, the latter use data from a group of speakers. Speaker-extrinsic techniques are not commonly applied, mainly because of their complexity, as each added speaker alters the existing normalised data such that the calculations have to be redone from the beginning (Thomas & Kendall 2007). Regardless of the technique, the main goal is to minimise the formant differences between individuals due to inherent physiological factors, and, at the same time, to preserve distinctions that correspond to perceptibly of different vowels (Hindle, 1978: 167). This is especially important for sociolinguistic and dialectal studies. As noted by Thomas (2002: 174) "all normalisation techniques have drawbacks […] choosing which normalisation technique to use is a matter of deciding which drawbacks are tolerable for the study at hand". Nevertheless, results from previous research projects have demonstrated that "any form of normalisation is better than not normalising at all" (Flynn, 2011: 22).

The normalisation of the current data was carried out using NORM, the vowel normalisation and plotting suite (Thomas & Kendall 2007). Based on the observations mentioned above, the vowel-extrinsic method "Lobanov", which appeared the most suitable for the current data, was selected. The normalisation method was applied to the measurements of the F0-F2 formant frequencies. F3 was not included in the processing. Further, the RP data employed in this research were also normalised using the method described above.

The normalised data were subjected to plotting. Plots, which show the vowel spaces in the standard F1/F2 plane, were generated using the online resource NORM. The axes replicate the traditional vowel map and indicate height and fronting. First, plots were generated for individual speakers. Each vowel label represents the mean value of the target position for the vowel. Plots representing individual vowel tokens for more detailed insight into possible realisations in different environments were also generated and are referred to in the description in Section 5.3. In the next step, plots for the entire group of male and female speakers were generated. The RP data were normalised using the same method

(Lobanov) and were included in the plots. The RP data were plotted in red and the RhodE data in blue. Thus, each plot illustrates the relative position of the short and long monophthongs in vowel space with respect to the RP data.

3.5. Data from relevant English accents

RP data

The RP data used in the present study come from Deterding (1997). Deterding's study included five male and five female English speakers, all BBC broadcasters. The corpus contains samples of connected speech, mainly newsreading and commentary passages broadcast by the BBC in the 1980s. Although there are some minor differences among the speakers' accents, they may all be considered speakers of RP or close to RP. Measurements were taken for eleven monophthong vowels, approximately ten tokens for each of the eleven monophthongs for each speaker. The average values for F1-F3 in Hz can be found in the MARSEC database (Roach, Knowles, Varadi & Arnfield 1993).

RhodE data

To my knowledge, the only research into RhodE thus far was carried out by Fitzmaurice (2010), herself a native speaker of the variety, who has not lived in her home country since 1977. Fitzmaurice's informants were Rhodesian expatriates, mainly the researcher's friends, colleagues and family members who have relocated to the USA and the United Kingdom. Fitzmaurice (2010) provides no detailed information in terms of the respective ages or socio-economic backgrounds of the informants. The phonological description is based on her auditory analysis.

3.6. Vowel description

In order to refer to different vowel phonemes, Wells' (1982) standard lexical sets are used in this study. They

> [e]nable one to refer concisely to large groups of words which tend to share the same vowel, and to the vowel which they share. They are based on the vowel correspondences which apply between British Received Pronunciation and (a variety of) General American, and make use of keywords intended to be unmistakable no matter what accent one says them in.
>
> (Wells, 1982: xviii)

The system is subdivided into four part-systems. The keywords, written in small capitals, represent the specific vowel phoneme and a set of words in which it is found.

Part-system A: is used to describe the short vowels that appear in stressed monosyllables but not word-finally. The RP has a six-vowel system /ɪ, ɛ, æ, ɒ, ʌ, ʊ/ which corresponds to the following keywords: KIT, DRESS, TRAP, LOT-CLOTH, STRUT and FOOT. In RP LOT and CLOTH have merged; however, there are some accents, such as General American English, in which each has its distinct vowel in these two lexical sets.

Part-system B: consists of long vowels with a front-mid to close quality. In the case of monophthongs this applies to the vowel, and in the case of diphthongs to the glide. In RP there are the following long vowels: /iː, eɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ/ FLEECE, FACE, PRICE and CHOICE. These may also appear word-finally in stressed monosyllables.

Part-system C: consists of long vowels with a back-mid to close quality. Again, in the case of monophthongs this applies to the whole vowel, whereas for diphthongs only to the glide. This part-system includes /uː, əʊ, aʊ/ represented by the lexical sets GOOSE, GOAT and MOUTH. These may appear word-finally in stressed monosyllables.

Part-system D: includes long vowels and diphthongs with "a relatively open quality or (if diphthongal) endpoint, including under 'relatively open' the mid central quality [ə]" (Wells, 1982: 175). In RP this applies to the following: /ɪə, ɛə, ɜː, ɑː, ɔː, əʊ/ or NEAR, SQUARE,

NURSE, BATH-START-PALM, THOUGHT-NORTH-FORCE and CURE. These vowels can appear word-finally in stressed syllables. In the current study BATH, which in RhodE corresponds to the BATH, PALM and START lexical sets, is used. Similarly, THOUGHT is used as a cover term for THOUGHT, NORTH and FORCE.

3.7. Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodology applied in the current thesis. A description of the informants and their backgrounds has been given, and the interview technique has been described. The approach to collecting and analysing sociolinguistic interviews on a one-to-one basis was adopted as it was considered favourable for the study. Short and long monophthongs were analysed for each speaker and then for the entire group of female and male speakers respectively. For the purpose of measuring Praat was used and values for F0-F3 were retrieved. The raw Hertz formant frequencies F0-F2 were normalised using the vowel-extrinsic method Lobanov. The same normalisation method was used for the RP data (Deterding 1997) which serves as a reference point against which the RhodE will be viewed. Finally, the chapter explained the system applied for the vowel description in the current study.

4. Rhodesia / Zimbabwe

4.0. Introduction

The claim was made in Chapter Two that the ecologies of the contact situation play a crucial role in the process of feature selection and determine which developmental trajectory the new variety will eventually follow. Therefore, the main purpose of this chapter is to investigate the extra-linguistic developments in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. The chapter begins with a brief description of Zimbabwe's geography and topography (Section 4.1) and a short summary of the current linguistic situation in the territory of today's Zimbabwe (Section 4.2). Section 4.3 provides an account of the growth of the white Rhodesian population in the period between 1890 and 1980, viewed in the light of the main historical and political events. For a clearer overview Section 4.3 is divided into four sub-sections, coinciding approximately with the main politico-historical developments. Section 4.3.1 looks into the first ten years of the colony's existence, Section 4.3.2 covers the period from 1900 up to 1953, the year when Rhodesia became a part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and Section 4.3.3 examines developments until Independence in 1980. Of particular interest are the social and demographic origins of the settlers and their places of settlement. Further, Section 4.3.4 focuses on the post-Independence period, in particular on the subject of white emigration. Other relevant extra-linguistic parameters of colonial Rhodesia, such as developments in the communities that came into contact, settlement patterns, questions of identity construction or education, are addressed in Section 4.4. Finally, a summary follows in Section 4.5.

Terminology

Since the territory of today's Zimbabwe has been renamed several times during its history a brief note on terminology is required. The three following labels are used in this thesis: Southern Rhodesia, Rhodesia and Zimbabwe. Between 1890 and 1894 the country was called Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia was the name used from 1895 until 1963, the year of

the break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The adjective “Southern” was added in order to distinguish it from Northern Rhodesia, today’s Zambia. Between 1964 and 1979 the country was once again called Rhodesia and finally, following Independence in 1980, the name was changed to Zimbabwe.

Further, for the purpose of distinguishing between the indigenous population and the European settlers the adjectives “white” and “black”, without quotation marks, are employed. My informants confirmed that these terms have been used in Africa to refer to the origins of people (European or African) throughout the history. Thus, the adjectives serve purely for distinction purposes and are not employed as racial terms. The term “(ex-) Rhodesians” is employed to refer to the ancestors of the white settlers born before Independence, while the label “(white) Zimbabweans” is reserved for the ancestors of the white settlers born after Independence.

4.1. Geography and topography

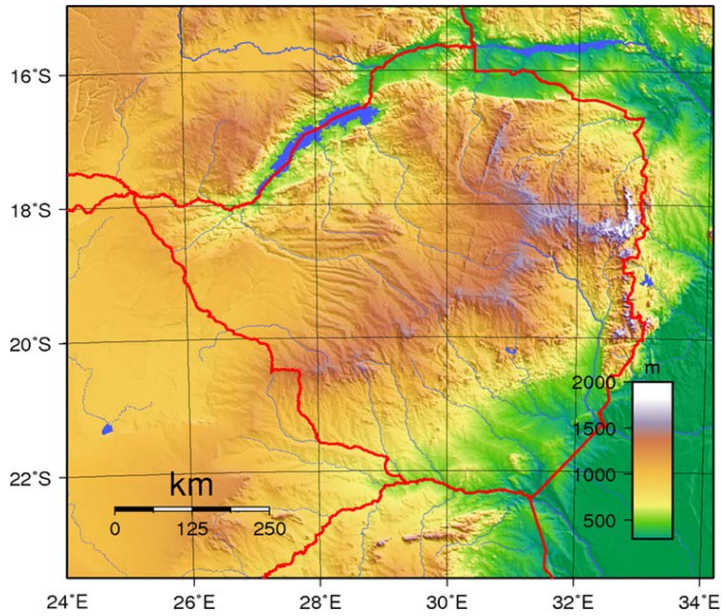
The Republic of Zimbabwe is a landlocked country situated in the South Central Africa. It extends from latitudes 15°37’ S to 22°24’ S and from longitudes 25°14’ E to 33°04’ E. It shares borders with four countries: South Africa to the south, Zambia to the north, Botswana to the west and Mozambique to the east. Zimbabwe covers an area of 390,757 sq. km. Most of the territory consists of plateaus divided into three segments: the High Veld, the Middle Veld and the Low Veld. The High Veld constitutes a quarter of the land’s mass and stretches across the country, with the terrain ranging from relatively smooth to almost mountainous in altitudes over 1200 m. The High Veld runs through the main urban centres Bulawayo, Gweru (formerly Gwelo), Harare (formerly Salisbury) and Mutare (formerly Umtali). Since it offers the most fertile land as well as the best conditions for settlement, most Europeans and Africans have always tended to concentrate in the High Veld. In addition, there are mineral resources in the south-eastern part of the High Veld. The High Veld slopes progressively through the Middle Veld, mainly wooded grasslands, to the Low Veld and its grassy plains. Both the High Veld and Low Veld contain rock hills known as “kopje”. In the north-central area the High Veld culminates in several groups of mountains. The highest

mountain of Zimbabwe, Mount Inyangani (2,592 m), is found in the eastern mountain complex. Another mountain range extends north from Harare. The main rivers are the Limpopo and the Zambezi. The Limpopo separates the country from South Africa, while the Zambezi, famous for the Victoria Falls and Lake Kariba, forms a natural border with Zambia. The capital city Harare (formerly Salisbury) is situated in the north of the country and has approximately 1.5 million inhabitants. Bulawayo, the second-largest city with a population of nearly one million, is in the south. Zimbabwe is divided into eight provinces: Manicaland in the east; Mashonaland East, Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland West in the north; Matabeleland North in the west; Matabeleland South and Victoria in the south, and Midlands in the centre. Due to its location and high average elevation, Zimbabwe enjoys a sub-tropical climate. The rainy season lasts from November to March and after a short transitional period is followed by dry, cool season that lasts from May until mid-August. Finally, the warm, dry season starts in August and continues until the rainy period in November.

Figure 4.1: Political map of the Republic of Zimbabwe

Source: http://www.ezilon.com/maps/africa/zimbabwe-maps.html

Figure 4.2: Topography map of Zimbabwe



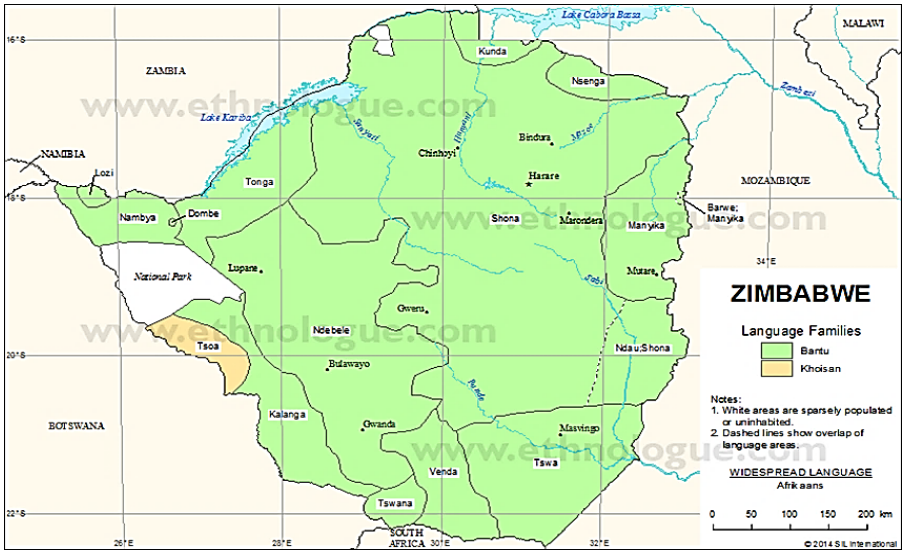
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:ZimbabweTopography.png

4.2. Linguistic situation in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is a multilingual speech community with sixteen officially-recognised languages. The most dominant are English and two local Bantu languages, Shona and Ndebele. Shona, comprising the major dialect groups Ndau, Manyika, Korekore, Zezuru and Karnga, is spoken as an L1 by approximately 77 per cent and Ndebele by approximately 18 per cent of the population (Mlambo, 2009: 18). Further, there are minority languages (Venda, Sotho, Shangaan, Tonga, Nambya, Chikunda, Wesa, Barwe, Sena, Xhosa, Khoi-San, Tswana, Gujarati and Afrikaans) as well as a number of *lingua francas*, i.e., Chewa, spoken in the territory. English is spoken by the white population and is understood by more than half of the indigenous population, although it may not always be used actively (Zimbabwe Mining Laws and Regulations Handbook, 2008: 20). As for the white community, because of the changes following Independence, Fitzmaurice (2010: 272) draws a distinction between two native varieties originating in the territory of today's Zimbabwe: Rhodesian English (RhodE) and

white Zimbabwean English (WhZimE). RhodE is spoken by the descendants of white settlers who no longer live in the country; it may be described as a fossilised, non-productive dialect. Nowadays, this variety is spoken largely in the diaspora. WhZimE, on the other hand, is defined as a productive and changing dialect (ibid.). This variety is spoken by the white settlers descendants who were born in Zimbabwe after 1980 and remained there. In Zimbabwe, English is the L1 of 5 per cent of the country's population; nevertheless, as an official language it is used in the law, commerce, trade and print media (Fitzmaurice, 2013: 483). Since RhodE and WhZimE do not exist under the same circumstances, they are undergoing independent developments and should therefore be considered as separate. WhZimE is influenced by contact with African languages, whereas RhodE is in contact with languages and dialects spoken in the diaspora. Fitzmaurice (2010: 264; 2013: 483) points out that neither speakers of RhodE nor speakers of WhZimE belong to a homogeneous group. As for the African population, for the majority, English is a second language. According to Mlambo (2009: 22) the L2 varieties of English constitute a continuum ranging from near native to basilectal. Given the fact that English is spoken in Zimbabwe by distinct speech communities both as an L1 and L2, following Kachru's (1985) model the country may be classified as belonging to the Inner as well as the Outer Circle.

Figure 4.3: Distribution of indigenous languages and dialects



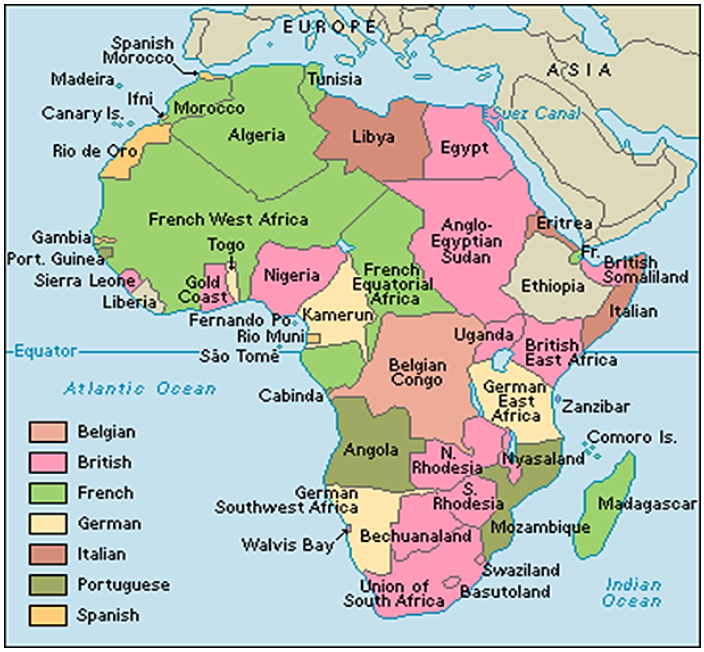
Source: http://www.ethnologue.com/map/ZW

4.3. Social history and demographics

4.3.1. The frontier era 1890-1900

The white settlement in Southern Rhodesia, today's Zimbabwe, is little more than a century old. It began its life in 1890 under the rule of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), a commercial enterprise headed by the English-born businessman Cecil Rhodes. European interest in the territory was triggered by the discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa. Besides the British, also the Boers, Portuguese, Americans and Germans were interested in the territory, which had until then not been occupied by any European powers. The two main factors why the British were attracted to this territory were the strategic and the economic. Rhodes was clearly interested in gold and diamonds; however, his main interest lay in the extension of the Cape Colony into Central Africa "where men and women of the British race might work out a new destiny for themselves and their country" (quoted in Lockhart & Woodhouse, 1963: 142). The creation of such an empire was crucial in Britain's competition against other colonising powers for control of Africa. Rhodes' vision was to establish a continuous British state stretching from the Cape of Good Hope to Egypt. Rhodesia was the last colony in history established by a private company with the use of a private army (Sibanda, 2005: 19). Rhodes received the necessary support since Britain "badly wanted to see the vacuum in Central Africa filled by British influence, but […] lacked the finance and public support to create an orthodox Crown colony" (quoted in Hungwe, 1994: 23). The plan to create a continuous British state in Africa was to a greater or lesser extent accomplished by the 1890s, with the only non-British territory being German East Africa. In 1902 the Boer Republic of Transvaal and the Orange Free State in South Africa were added to the British colonies of Cape Colony and Natal. As a result, one third of Africa was under British rule (Ramutsindela, 2007: 124).

Figure 4.4: Colonialism, Africa 1914



Source:http://history.howstuffworks.com/african-history/history-of-africa4.htm

In 1888, in exchange for wealth and arms, Rhodes obtained a concession from the Ndebele King Lobengula granting him the right to mine for minerals in Mashonaland. The concession was highly controversial and the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies was even questioned by Mr Labouchere, a British MP, whether "it is a fact that Lo Bengula denies having knowingly signed a concession such as that held by Messrs. Rudd, and asserts that the missionary who acted as interpreter between him and Mr Rudd erroneously interpreted the document to him" (quoted in Hungwe, 1994: 3). Nevetheless, it was on the basis of this concession that the British government granted the BSAC a royal charter over Mashonaland. Although the colony was occupied in the name of Queen Victoria, the British government stated that the "BSAC would be liable for all future expenses" (quoted in Hungwe, 1994: 4). As a result, "businessmen and financiers combined to conquer and then to administer while the mother-country remained more or less inactive. These capitalist entrepreneurs have carried out the task of colonisation themselves, largely at their own expense" (Rolin, 1978: 97). According to Keppel-Jones (1983: 116), the main objectives of the BSAC were to

encourage emigration and colonisation, to promote trade and commerce, to develop and work mineral and other concessions and to extend the railway and telegraph systems northwards. In 1890 the first group of white settlers, the Pioneer Column, was dispatched from the Cape Colony with the aim of establishing a permanent settlement in Mashonaland. The Pioneers left on 11 July and, without a single casualty, reached Fort Salisbury two months later on 12 September 1890 (Tawse-Jollie, 1936: 12).

The two largest African groups in the territory at the time of the European colonisation were the Mashona and the Ndebele (Matabele). The Mashona were represented by various Shona-speaking groups and, despite the fact that they were more numerous and had occupied the territory for longer, the Ndebele were nevertheless the dominant tribe. At the Pioneers' arrival the indigenous population far outnumbered the white settlers. However, the latter soon won a dominant position and superimposed themselves over the natives, which led to tensions in the years to come. Dr Jameson was in 1892 appointed Chief Magistrate for Mashonaland. His vision was to absorb the natives into Rhodesia's labour force, keeping the two nations strictly segregated. He attempted to stop the Ndebele from entering Mashonaland, except for work purposes. This, however, led to numerous incidents between the Europeans and the natives and finally culminated in the First Matabele War in 1893. The First Matabele War ended with the defeat of the Ndebele peoples and the collapse of Lobengula's kingdom. Jameson announced that "the King being dead, the white government had taken his place" (quoted in Hungwe, 1994: 4). In 1895, Matabeleland and Mashonaland were united.

The natives continued to be discontent with the BSAC's land and labour policies as well as with the taxation system that had been introduced. In March 1896 the Ndebele began revolting against the authority of BSAC, attacking the white settlers. The rebellion was well timed: earlier that year most of the Rhodesian troops had been sent to invade the Boer-held Transvaal to overthrow the Kruger government and claim the territory for Britain. As a result, the white Rhodesian community, much of which was "scattered about the countryside in helpless isolation" (Kennedy, 1987: 18) was insufficiently protected. Although the British immediately sent troops to suppress the uprising, the conflict was not resolved until October 1897. Kennedy (1987: 18) claims that during the First Chimurenga, or War of Liberation, as this conflict became known, 370 settlers, approximately one tenth of the

entire white population, lost their lives. However, as a result, by 1898 the white colonists spread over the majority of Rhodesian territory.

As demonstrated above, the first decade of the white colony's existence was marked by frequent raids and rebellions that had to be suppressed before the white settlers could gain a relatively safe position in Rhodesia. Around 1896, when the rebellions were over, Rhodesia experienced a significant development. An administration system was enforced, living conditions improved and towns and settlements began to expand. Nevertheless, throughout the 1890s the colony remained cut off from familiar forms of civilisation. The only way to reach Salisbury was by an ox-drawn wagon and the journey from South African Vryburg took two to four months, depending on the conditions (Keppel-Jones, 1983: 344).

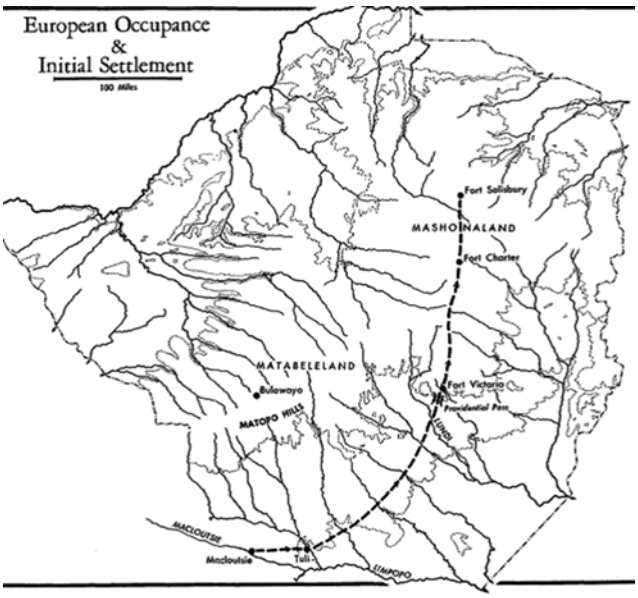
Demographics: The Pioneer Column

Rhodes' intention was to settle the territory with a large number of young British colonials who would form the nucleus of the new colony. As far as the politics of the settlement is concerned, it was an open secret that the country was to be settled by "volunteers" who would receive free land in return for their services. Rhodes expected that the Matabele would eventually be driven out of the territory; this was, however, not in accordance with the Charter (Keppel-Jones, 1983: 158). The Pioneer Column consisted of two units: the Pioneer Corps and the Mounted Infantry Force. The latter was supposed to provide protection for the Pioneer Corps on its way to Mashonaland. In total, the Pioneer Column numbered 189 Pioneers and 500 infantry members (Kennedy, 1987: 12). The selection of the Pioneers was supervised by Rhodes himself. According to Blake (1978: 67), he intended the Corps to be "a cross section of Cape Colony Society from every walk of life, with a strong emphasis on the British side, but with some Afrikaners as well". The Pioneers were chosen from more than two thousand applicants and came from various social backgrounds. Blake (ibid.) claims that the Pioneer Column contained "farmers, artisans, miners, doctors, lawyers, engineers, builders, bakers, soldiers, sailors, cadets of good family and no special occupations, cricketers, three parsons and a Jesuit". Similarly, the members of the infantry force came from all ranks of society and few had any military experience (Keppel-Jones,

1983: 164). As far as the group as a whole is concerned, the opinions of its quality vary greatly. One end of the spectrum is represented by a historian Marshal Hole, who claims that “no finer corps d’élite than the British South African Company’s Police and the Mashonaland Pioneers has ever been raised” (quoted in Blake, 1978: 67). At the other end of the spectrum are comments describing the Pioneers as “border ruffians” (ibid.). Somewhere between those two extremes lies the opinion of Victor Morier, son of the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg and a trooper himself, who saw the Pioneer Column as “on the whole an excellent body” (quoted in Blake, 1978: 67). He further notes that the Column consisted mainly of “miners etc. thrown out of employment by the smash of the Johannesburg goldfields, a sprinkling of army and navy deserters, clerks etc.”(ibid.). Yet another observation comes from Major Leonard, a member of the Pioneer Column, who writes: “Such a mixed lot I never saw in my life, all sorts and conditions from the aristocratic down to the street Arab, peers and waifs of humanity mingling together like the ingredients of a hotch-potch” (ibid.: 68).

Further, we know that the Pioneers were, on average, under thirty years old; three were born in the Transvaal, one in Orange Free State, forty-four in the Cape Colony and sixty-five in Britain (Kennedy, 1987: 13). Very few were of Afrikaner origin. The members of the police group were also of British origin and included a number of regular British army officers from socially prominent families. Kennedy (1987: 14) observes that the “BSAC served as the central funnel for the stream of gentlemen’s sons who came to Rhodesia in the early days to make their fortunes in land and mining speculation”. According to Kennedy (1987: 93), the early white settler community contained “English yeoman farmers, Welsh coal miners, Scottish highland crofters, London junior clerks, Cape civil servants, Durban small merchants, traders, transporters, farmers, and farm workers from the Transvaal and Orange Free State”. In this respect Rhodes’ intention to create a self-sufficient settlement, a microcosm of white society in South Central Africa, was successful. Keppel-Jones (1983: 163) stresses the fact that the Pioneer Column was a heavily armed military formation prepared to take the territory by force.

Figure 4.5: European penetration and initial settlement



Source: Whittlesey (1956: 18)

There was no systematic census into the origins of the immigrants for the entire country in the 1890s. Data from a 1895 Bulawayo census are, however, available. While this sample cannot be taken as representative of the whole colony, it can offer an insight into the situation because at that point one third of the white population resided in Bulawayo. As demonstrated in Table 4.1 (below) the most important source of immigrants was clearly the United Kingdom. The second largest group consisted of "Colonials", which was a cover term for immigrants from South Africa. This group comprised both Afrikaners and settlers of British origin. According to Keppel-Jones (1983: 379), only eighty-six out of the 299 claimed to be adherents of the Dutch Reformed Church, which suggests that the rest must have been of British origin. As is further evident from Table 4.1, settlers of German descent also formed a relatively numerous group.

Table 4.1: Origins of early settlers in Bulawayo

Origins	Number
United Kingdom	1,017
"Colonials"	299
U.S.A	33
Germany	108
Others	79

Source: Keppel-Jones (1983: 379)

The first settlements

The prime motivation of the Pioneers who arrived in 1890 and in the following decade was gold mining. It appears that they had little intention to settle the territory permanently. Based on the rumours spread in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese, who discovered the existence of ancient gold mines as was later confirmed by the Pioneers themselves, extensive gold fields were believed to exist in Rhodesia. According to Gann and Duignan (1967), Rhodes imagined he would be able to establish the "Second Rand" north of the Limpopo River. However, it soon became evident that unlike on the Rand, where gold was found in reefs, in Rhodesia it was scattered across the territory. The Pioneers set off from Mafeking in the north-eastern corner of the Cape Colony and during their two-month journey founded three towns along the way: Fort Victoria, Fort Charter and Fort Salisbury. The Pioneers were promised fifteen gold claims and 3,000 acres of land each (Phimister, 1988: 216). Upon their arrival in Fort Salisbury, shortly after the flag was hoisted, they "swarmed like bees across Mashonaland looking for gold-fields" (ibid.). The fact that the Pioneers immediately sold their farm rights in order to raise money for prospecting confirms they were interested neither in working the land nor in making Rhodesia their permanent home. Phimister (1974: 77) estimates that by the third week of October 1890 some 300 men were prospecting the country around Forts Salisbury, Charter and Victoria. The atmosphere was marked by the "constant coming and going of diggers and prospectors" (Hole, 1968: 40).

The Pioneers worked under extremely hard conditions, often alone or in groups of two or three, living in tents or in rough grass huts. The majority lacked expertise in mining and often chose mining locations in the following way:

> the Pioneers, who were amateurs with no special knowledge of geology, found that the easiest way to locate gold-bearing reefs was to bribe a local native - generally by the gift of a cotton blanket - to guide them to a "hole" or old working. In this way most Rhodesian gold mines were started.
>
> (Hole, 1968: 38)

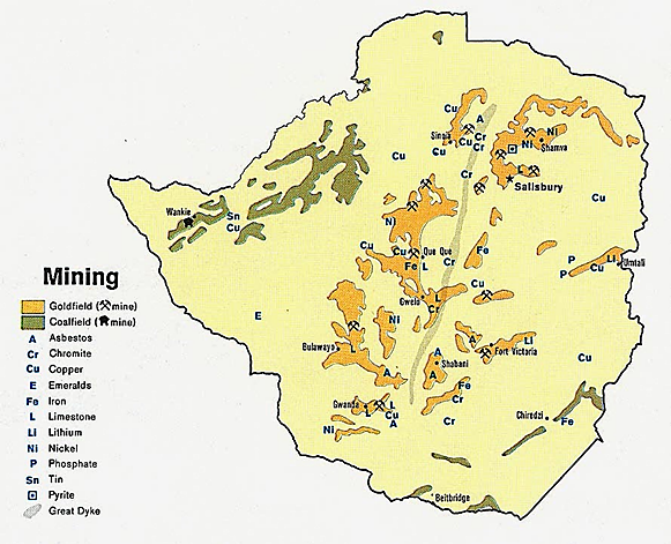
Despite the hardships, there was no lack of new immigrants. With a "stream of prospectors, speculators, traders and the like" (Hole, 1968: 10) arriving throughout the wet season of 1890-1891 the settlements continued to grow fairly quickly. Furthermore, potential settlers from the Cape Colony and England kept applying for posts with the BSAC, both civil and military. Hole (1968: 40) observes that by 1891 "the first feverish expectations had cooled down, but, nevertheless, gold still formed the uppermost interest of all the pioneers and of the new prospecting syndicates" who arrived on a daily basis. As gold searches in Mashonaland proved elusive, the BSAC turned with hope to Matabeleland, which was invaded in 1893. The settlers who participated in the invasion were promised farmland of over 6,000 acres anywhere in Matabeleland. Matabeleland also failed to offer gold in large quantities, and this meant heavy losses for the BSAC. Nevertheless, mining centres continued to form the core of commercial activity in the early years and determined the migration patterns in early Rhodesia. Kennedy (1987) observes that mining settlements were heavily male-oriented, greatly unstable and lacking all necessary infrastructure. When the gold rush cooled off, many white adventurers left the country. According to Kennedy (1987: 17)

> excepting the 55 individuals who died in the territory within the first dozen years of the invasion, only 26 (14%) of the Pioneer Corpsmen settled permanently in Rhodesia. At least 96 (51%) of the remainder are known to have left the colony within the first decade.

Mlambo (2002: 1) points out that, by 1924, of the 700 original Pioneers only fifteen were still living in Rhodesia. The BSAC believed that the output of gold would recoup the money it had

invested in administration and development, yet the years before 1900 were entirely unprofitable. The mining industry experienced a small revival after 1903. There were 949 miners in 1904, and their number had increased to 2,255 by 1911 (Kennedy, 1987: 50). Small-scale mining was continued throughout the existence of the colony however, since no major gold fields were discovered, most settlers turned to farming.

Figure 4.6: Distribution of mines in Southern Rhodesia



Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/south_rhodesia_mine_1979.jpg

Early urban centres

Upon their arrival, the first white colonists found only small African settlements composed of huts around tribal authorities. There was no established framework of settlements that could be further developed. According to Munzwa and Wellington (2010: 124), one of the tasks of the Pioneer Column was to build a road through the country and establish settlements for the succeeding settlers. Thus the early white urban centres developed from forts set up by the Pioneers. Among these were Fort Tuli, Fort Victoria (now Masvingo), Fort Charter (now Chivhu), Fort Salisbury (now Harare) or Fort Umtali (now Mutare). In general, urban centres were of great importance throughout the existence of the white colony, as

these became the homes of large numbers of white immigrants. The three most significant were Salisbury (now Harare), Bulawayo and Gwelo (now Gweru).

Although Salisbury was the main settlement, in the early period it consisted predominantly of huts, canvas tents and wagons. The following quote from Hole (1968: 22) offers a picture of Salisbury in 1891:

> Just before leaving Cape Colony we had seen a copy of "SOUTH AFRICA" with a map in which the name FORT SALISBURY was printed in the thick type usually associated with flourishing capital cities. Nevertheless it would have been easy, at the time of our arrival, to pass within a few hundred yards of the place itself without noticing it. The surrounding country was clothed with a dense growth of coarse grass five feet or more in height. From this emerged a low tree covered hill – the "Kopje"- at the foot of which were a couple of score or thatched huts hardly differing from those of the native kraals we had seen on the road.

Hole (1968: 22) observes that the population was almost exclusively male, counting "four or five hundred sun-burnt young men" and one woman. It was a "mixed crowd" comprising mainly miners, transport riders, police troopers, traders and speculators (ibid.).

Following the Matabele war of 1893, the second important urban centre, Bulawayo, was established in 1894 on the foundations of the former Ndebele capital. It was situated in the south of the country, approximately 260 miles from Salisbury. According to Ranger (2010: 23), most members of the Victoria Column that conquered the town left soon after and were replaced by men "crowding up from Joburg and the Transvaal, English mostly but with a good mixture of Australian, American and German". Settlement in Bulawayo developed faster than in Salisbury. Leys (1959: 6) observes that already in the beginning "Bulawayo had the appearance of a boom town; all around farms and mining claims were being pegged". The railway line was extended to Bulawayo in 1897 and the town attracted many new settlers, mainly transport riders and merchants. In 1904, following the extension of the railway line beyond Bulawayo, the composition of the inhabitants changed again. Most transport riders departed and the town turned into the centre of commerce. Ranger (2010: 24) estimates that there were approximately 5,000-6,000 Europeans living in Bulawayo in the early 1900s. The female population grew steadily; while in 1895 the ratio of white men to white women was 7:1, in 1901 it had risen to 2:1 (ibid.: 37). The number of

natives and whites within the city boundaries was approximately the same, yet the two groups lived in strict segregation. Most black men worked either for the railways or as servants in white households.

In the early days when the settlers travelled by horse- and ox-carts they needed posting stops between widely distant towns. Gwelo, situated approximately 100 miles north of Bulawayo, was one of these posting stops. Gwelo's location in the Midlands District was chosen by Dr Jameson in 1894. Gradually, Gwelo ceased to be used merely as a refreshment point, and mining prospectors, traders and later farmers came to settle there. Similarly to the circumstances in early Salisbury, the infrastructure was very poor and, as a result, in 1896 the population numbered several hundred white men but only eight white women (Jeater, 2000: 31). Around the 1900s permanent brick buildings were constructed and further improvement of the infrastructure resulted in a gradual increase in the white female population. This, in turn, meant that the population began to grow by natural increase as well. In 1901 a convent school counting twelve white children was established in Gwelo (Jeater, 2000: 32). However, since numerous mines operated in the Gwelo area, migration was considerable (Stapleton, 2011: 30).

In conclusion it can be said that the situation and living conditions in Rhodesia were very similar across the early urban centres. The frontier society was overwhelmingly adult-male dominated, consisting mainly of prospectors, traders and transporters. Urban areas were perceived as exclusively European strongholds, places where Africans were viewed as migrant workers who would eventually return to their homes.

4.3.2. From BSAC rule to a self-governing colony: 1900-1953

During the early colonial years the connection between Rhodesia and South Africa was very close. According to Uusihakala (2008: 30), there were two main reasons: firstly, a significant number of settlers came from or *via* South Africa, and secondly, South Africa acted as a model in terms of administrative and legal system. Rhodesia was presented in 1910 with the

offer of joining the Union of South Africa as its fifth province. The results of the Referendum confirm that the majority of white Rhodesians contended that Rhodesia should be placed under British rule, and therefore voted against the union. Nevertheless, Britain did not take over and the BSAC continued its administration of Rhodesia. Immediately after World War I the BSAC made attempts to fuse Southern and Northern Rhodesia, yet Southern Rhodesians were not in favour of this move and the scheme was rejected. When the BSAC's charter expired in 1922, the BSAC, supported by the South African government, again attempted to make Southern Rhodesia a province of the Union of South Africa. The proposal was rejected in 1923 and Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing British colony. Although the British government retained the right to intervene, the greatest power was exercised by the local white community. The colony's affairs were controlled by an essentially white parliament. The majority of Africans were excluded from voting due to the high property qualifications. Segregation and the supreme position of the white immigrants were further reinforced by two laws: the Land Apportionment Act and the Labour Law. The Land Apportionment Act, which divided the land along racial lines between the two groups, was passed in 1930. Palmer (1977: 137) claims that this Act was of a great importance for the Responsible Government's politics, mainly because, by that stage, the Rhodesian economy was centred around agriculture. The Labour Law, passed in 1934, prohibited Africans from working in skilled trades and living in white areas, which included all of the towns and cities (Owomoyela, 2002: 17).

Demographics

It is estimated that in 1904 1.4 per cent of the entire Rhodesian population was of European origin (Fitzmaurice, 2010: 268) and in the years to come the white population continued to increase due rather to immigration than internal reproduction. Between 1901 and 1911 88 per cent of the white population were immigrants, mainly English speakers who entered Rhodesia from the Union of South Africa (Mlambo, 1998: 126). According to Schutz (1973: 6-7), the heaviest influx in the early period was recorded between 1907 and 1911. However, by 1911 it had become clear that gold mining in Rhodesia could not be carried out on a large

scale and the BSAC decided to turn to agriculture instead. Yet Kennedy (1987: 21) estimates that around 1900 there were only approximately 250 white farmers, and therefore numerous measures had to be taken to increase their numbers. In 1905 the BSAC administrator stated that:

> The Company is desirous of assisting […] the settlement of suitable immigrants upon its unalienated lands […] (and) is preparing a scheme under which considerable funds will be provided for the purpose. The main objects will be to obtain settlers of the agricultural class with sufficient capital to ensure the beneficial occupation of the land and to assist them by some preparations of their holdings prior to arrival and by skilled advice while they are gaining experience of the conditions under which farming is carried on in the country.
>
> (quoted in Mlambo, 1998: 133)

In the same year the BSAC created the Land Settlement Committee, which was supposed to bring skilled famers to the country. New prospective settlers from the British Isles were recruited through the newly opened emigration offices in London and Glasgow. Further, BSAC agents were dispatched to South Africa where they promoted opportunities for settlers in Rhodesia. As a result of the BSAC's efforts, "a relatively large and seemingly influential number of English-speaking South African farmers migrated across Limpopo into Southern Rhodesia during 1904-1911" (Schutz, 1973: 7). On the whole, between 1901 and 1911 the white population grew from 11,000 to over 23,000; between 1907 and 1911 the number of European farmers rose from 1,174 to 2,140 (Kennedy, 1987: 36). According to Kennedy (1987: 36), the settlers who applied for the farmland came from the following sources: Cape Colony (38 per cent), Orange River Colony (30 per cent), Transvaal (18 per cent), Rhodesia (5 per cent), Natal (4 per cent) and Britain (2 per cent), and the remaining 3 per cent were immigrants from other countries. Rhodesian farms were extensive, especially the areas used for cattle ranching, and each white farming community therefore lived in relative isolation. It was common that farms and ranches of 3,000 hectares were in the possession of one white family.

Immigration was strictly controlled by the Rhodesian authorities. Furthermore, in 1903 the Rhodesian Surveyor General imposed restrictions on selling land. He argued that the unrestricted selling of land would lead to the influx of undesirable settlers "who would

form a compact, bigoted and non-progressive class" (quoted in Mlambo, 2000: 144). In order to avoid unwanted settlers, the BSAC established the minimum capital required by new immigrants planning to settle in Rhodesia. Another factor contributory to the fact that lower social classes were underrepresented was the high cost of the journey. Kennedy (1987: 6) claims that in 1904 Rhodesia was "the most expensive of all British colonies to reach, and to start in".

The most obvious difference with respect to pre-1900 Rhodesia was the type of settlers. The post-1900 immigrants perceived Rhodesia as their new home since farming, unlike mining or trading, meant more permanence. As a result, the white settlement underwent a transition from a frontier to a settler society, a change largely completed before the outbreak of the First World War. It can be argued that pre-World War I Rhodesia had a stable white society consisting mostly of complete families. Godwin (1993: 31) observes that during this period, contact between the white and the black populations continued to be limited; the blacks were employed by the white families as servants: they ran the households and often also cared for the white children.

Women

As demonstrated above, one of the dominant features of early Rhodesian demography was the uneven gender ratio, which resulted in the slow natural increase of the white population. For instance, in 1904 there were 12,596 white males yet still only 3,643 females (McCulloch, 2000: 88). Differences existed also between certain towns as more women settled in Bulawayo than in Salisbury or Umtali (ibid.). In order to secure the growth and stability of the colony, special attention was paid to the immigration of females. The systematic immigration of women through the British Women's Emigration Association began in 1902. The demand was for "capable young women [...] able to turn their hand to anything" (Kennedy, 1987: 36). In the following years the efforts to attract white female settlers to Rhodesia continued through the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women (SOSBW). In the 1920s it sent approximately seventy women and children to the colony every year; in 1927 the society launched a programme supposed to bring single

British women for work as domestics and governesses. Already in the first year 127 British women were brought into the country (ibid.: 64) and at the same time, South African women kept arriving through private networks. According to the 1911 census white men still outnumbered white women by nearly 50 per cent, but in 1921 the ratio finally began to equal out, with females constituting 40 per cent of the white population. The number of marriages increased. Subsequently, the birth rate went up, which was reflected in the population growth between 1911 and 1921. Records tell us that a small number of children were present in the colony already in the early years (Hole, 1968: 27) and the need for their education triggered the establishment of schools. The first Rhodesian school for children of European settlers opened in October 1892, and three months later twenty pupils were already attending (Keppel-Jones, 1983: 355). After 1900 schools opened even in rural areas. Their existence was, though, unstable as the number of children living on farms and in mining areas was subject to constant change.

Table 4.2: Gender ratio 1904-1926

Year	Females per 1000 males
1904	406
1907	482
1911	515
1921	771
1926	796

Source: Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Director of Census, May 1926: 13, Part 1

Between the wars: 1918-1938

Immediately after World War I the immigration slowed down although the efforts of the BSAC to bring in new settlers continued. Firstly, the necessary capital needed by newcomers was reduced and secondly, British immigrants were offered assisted passages. As a result, Rhodesia received more immigrants directly from Britain and indirectly from other parts of southern Africa. In 1919 there were 31,490 Europeans, 1,170 Asians and 2,010 Coloureds (Atkinson, 1972: 2). Around 1920, approximately half of the immigrants who came directly

from Britain were brought as a result of various schemes, the aim of which was to maintain "white aristocracy with a black proletariat" (quoted in Fitzmaurice, 2015: 203). Further, after World War I the company offered land to ex-servicemen of European descent (excluding Rhodesians and South Africans) who possessed a minimum of £1,000 (Kennedy, 1987: 58). In 1920 the BSAC established the Settlers' Board with the view to encourage further white immigration. The Board placed advertisements in South African, British and Indian newspapers. These were removed shortly after as they attracted large numbers of poor and thus unwanted immigrants. The government enforced further restrictions on immigration to prevent this problem. At the same time, independent settlers, mainly rich and upper-class citizens, kept arriving in Rhodesia. Kennedy (1987: 64) observes that, for example, in 1927 seventy independent settlers left England for the colony. In 1921 the white settlers constituted approximately 4.4 per cent of the entire population (Fitzmaurice, 2010: 268).

On the whole, it may be stated that the efforts of the Rhodesian and British authorities to attract more British emigrants were not particularly successful. Statistics for the years 1922-1935 demonstrate that out of the 495,242 British emigrants who left for the British colonies only 0.2 per cent headed for South Africa, including Rhodesia, whereas 25 per cent went to Canada, 34 per cent to Australia and 9 per cent to New Zealand (Mlambo, 1998: 139). Mlambo (1998: 139) argues that the lack of settlers was due to restrictions that allowed only immigrants of British origins with sufficient capital who were prepared to work the land. According to Mlambo (1998: 141), the Rhodesian authorities "wanted Rhodesia to develop not just as a White man's country but, specifically, as a British White man's country". As a result of this policy, the society in this period is described as "almost overpoweringly British" with an Afrikaner element (Blake, 1978: 276). In general, Anglophones born in South Africa were typically classified as British, hence the white community is said to be predominantly of British origin. White immigration continued in the years to come. Schutz (1973: 9-10) suggests that a clearly distinct white community had emerged by the 1920s.

Between 1932 and 1938 the total of immigrants rose from 1,295 to 3,509 (Kennedy, 1987: 89). At the same time the SOSBW remained active by bringing in British women. Before World War II nearly a hundred assisted settlers arrived from Britain, and another hundred were preparing to immigrate (ibid.). These efforts were supposed to ensure that

the population of Rhodesia remained predominantly British. While the geographical origins of the new settlers remained the same, their social origins differed. In 1930 Prime Minister Huggins expressed the desire to bring in more immigrants, in particular a "well-educated, well-bred and high-minded elite who would never become poor whites" (Kennedy, 1987: 88). Consequently, the number of farmers declined, and the number of experienced professionals increased. The skilled workers came predominantly from Britain and were employed by the railway company or other industries. Huggins believed that "the colony should concentrate on men of British stock whose numbers should be no more than supplemented by a 'carefully regulated flow' of 'assimilable aliens'" (Gann & Gelfand, 1964: 125-126).

The reasons for immigration changed after World War II. Before 1941 immigrants came mainly for economic reasons, whereas during World War II, when Rhodesia was chosen as training bases for the RAF, a considerable influx of military personnel increased the white population by 20 per cent (Fitzmaurice, 2010: 270). Schutz (1973: 14) argues that this immigration wave brought many "good type" settlers who remained in Rhodesia even after the War and helped boost the economy. The most significant change, however, came after World War II with the arrival of white settlers from war-ravaged Britain, most of whom settled in urban areas. In 1948 a further 17,000 immigrants arrived as a part of the Rhodesian government post-World War II scheme (Schutz, 1973: 16). In addition, emigration from South Africa intensified, bringing in more British South Africans. This was the fastest rise in the history of Southern Rhodesia. As Table 4.3 (below) demonstrates, the white population numbered only slightly over 82,000 in 1946, while five years later it had increased by more than 53,000. As in the previous years, the Rhodesian authorities imposed restrictions on the geographical origins of the new settlers in order to preserve the "Britishness" of the colony. They stated:

> First and foremost, we want Britishers in Rhodesia, and not until every British man, woman and child who wants to come out here and settle has arrived, do we feel like considering the question of permanent settlement for aliens, however desirable they may be, or however much they may desire to acquire British nationality.
>
> (quoted in Mlambo, 2000: 144)

A child migration scheme with the aim of permanently resettling children of British origin to Rhodesia was started following World War II. The scheme was on a relatively small scale and between 1946 and 1962 brought 276 British children to increase the number of white settlers (Uusihakalaa, 2014: 6). The children were aged between five and thirteen years old, and the majority were boys. Heavy focus was on turning these children into ideal colonial citizens who would help to maintain the required standards. Prime Minister Huggins considered these children to be a "very necessary adjunct to the birth rate" (quoted in Uusihakalaa, 2014: 5).

Table 4.3: White population growth 1891-1969

Year	Total
1891 (estimate)	1,500
1901	11,032
1904	12,596
1907	14,007
1911	23,606
1921	33,620
1926	39,174
1931	49,910
1936	55,408
1941	68,954
1946	82,386
1951	136,017
1956	177,124
1961	221,504
1969	262,000

Sources: Adapted from: Rhodesia, Census of Population 1901-1969 (1969: 62) and Fitzmaurice (2010: 268)

Table 4.3 (above) demonstrates the increase in the European-origin population, yet it conceals the fact that significant emigration took place at the same time. The Rhodesian population was much less static than in other southern African colonies. For instance, between 1926 and 1936 there were approximately 29,000 immigrants and 20,000 emigrants (quoted in Leys, 1959: 74). Similarly, after World War II 125,000 Europeans arrived, while 53,000 left (ibid.). The details of Rhodesian migration between 1921 and 1956 are

summarised in Table 4.4 (below). It is evident that the high population turnover was a dominant feature of white Rhodesia. An analysis of the situation between 1921 and 1956 demonstrates that in this period Rhodesia received a total of 184,691 white immigrants and lost 93,215, approximately 50 per cent, through emigration.

Table 4.4: Migration 1921-1956

Period	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net immigration
1921-26	9,400	6,676	2,724
1926-31	20,106	12,685	7,421
1931-36	9,090	7,058	2,032
1936-41	12,850	7,157	5,693
1941-46	8,250	6,192	2,058
1946-51	64,634	17,447	47,187
1952-56	60,361	36,000	24,000

Source: Official Yearbook of Southern Rhodesia 1952, (in Leys, 1959: 74)

Geographical origins of the early settlers

As demonstrated above, Great Britain and South Africa were the main sources of immigrants throughout colonial rule. Many settlers of British origin spent longer or shorter periods of time in South Africa prior to their arrival in Rhodesia (Atkinson, 1972: 2). While in 1904 the proportion of English-born settlers was slightly higher than those born in South Africa, the statistics from 1911 and 1921 show a reversal of this trend. During that period a number of Scottish settlers were among the white immigrants. Young Scottish men who possessed the minimum capital of £2,000 were encouraged to settle in Rhodesia. In 1925 an article in *Press & Journal* brought information about a "great number" of Scots residing in Southern Rhodesia (Harper, 1998: 124). However, the importance of the Scottish element should not be overestimated, as in 1911 the Scottish constituted a mere 8.4 per cent of the white population and ten years later the number had dropped to 6.3 per cent. Table 4.5 (below) offers statistics from the records for the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Table 4.5: Place of birth 1904-1921

Birthplace	1904		1911		1921	
	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%
Rhodesia	-	-	3,222	13.7	8,308	24.7
England	7,931	52.9	6,590	28.0	7,405	22.0
Scotland	-	-	1,965	8.4	2,124	6.3
Ireland	-	-	794	3.4	770	2.3
Wales	-	-	268	1.1	245	0.7
South Africa	5,811	41.6	7,236	30.7	11,634	34.6
Europe	-	-	1,886	8.0	1,569	4.7
Asia	132	0.9	208	0.9	193	0.6
America	232	1.7	316	1.3	285	0.8
Australasia	400	2.9	590	2.5	529	1.6
Other Africa	-	-	373	1.6	514	1.5
Other	-	-	63	0.2	92	0.3

Source: Adapted from Kennedy (1978: 199)

The population continued to grow mainly through immigration. Kennedy (1987: 65) observes that in 1929 the British-born immigrants accounted for 35 per cent and the South African-born for 52 per cent. Between 1936 and 1941 the proportion of Afrikaners in Rhodesia declined, which, according to Schutz (1973: 12), may partially be ascribed to the fact that Afrikaners were continuously discouraged from settling in Rhodesia. There were, despite the government's restrictions on immigration, non-Anglophone settlers, however, these were numerically rather insignificant. Members of such minorities lived in self-contained communities on the margins of the white society. In terms of hierarchy, Brownell (2011: 14) claims that the British-born Rhodesians occupied the highest ranks, followed by settlers of Western European descent. Below them in social ranking came the Afrikaner population and Eastern Europeans, and yet lower were the Turks, Arabs and Persians, often classified as whites. People of mixed European-African or Asian-African origin were classed as Coloureds and occupied the lowest rank of the non-African social ladder. Gann (1969:

319) argues that their low numbers as well as low status meant that they played a very minor, if any, role in the development of the white community.

Table 4.6: Racial composition of Rhodesian population 1911-1951

Year	White	Asian	Coloureds
1911	23,730	880	2,040
1920	32,620	1,210	2,000
1930	47,910	1,660	2,360
1940	65,000	2,480	3,800
1947	88,000	3,090	4,750
1948	101,000	3,280	4,880
1949	114,000	3,400	5,000
1950	125,000	3,600	5,200
1951	136,017	4,343	5,964

Source: Adapted from Official Yearbook of Southern Rhodesia (in Crush & Tevera, 2010: 59).

The migration statistics show that out of the 1,759 immigrants who entered Southern Rhodesia in 1945, 49.8 per cent were born in South Africa and 30.4 per cent in Great Britain. What is more significant, however, is the fact that according to the category "country of last permanent residence", 51.1 per cent came from South Africa and only 18.9 per cent from Great Britain (Schutz, 1973: 15). This trend changed in the years following the World War II. In 1954, for instance, 43 per cent were British-born; 41 per cent were born in the Union of South Africa. In 1957 56 per cent were born in Great Britain in contrast with 39 per cent born in the Union of South Africa (Leys, 1959: 76). In 1969 about 59 per cent of the white population were born outside the country and over half (55.1 per cent) had come to Rhodesia after World War II (Crush & Tevera, 2010: 57). At that point only 16.3 per cent had been in Rhodesia for between ten and twenty-four years (ibid.).

Compared to South Africa, where the Afrikaners and a high percentage of English-speaking settlers were indigenous, the situation in Rhodesia differed considerably. Brownell (2008: 598-9) claims that in this period, with the exception of a small core of Rhodesians who were born in the country and spent most of their lives there, "for most whites, Rhodesia was simply a chapter in their lives both preceded and followed by longer stays

elsewhere". Along the same lines Mlambo (1998: 124) observes that white Rhodesians were a "society of immigrants and transients, most of whom did not stay long enough to establish roots in the country." As for the occupational categories, there was a drop in the agriculture sector and mining fluctuated, whereas manufacturing and professions increased greatly. Schutz (1973: 12) estimates that approximately 36.5 per cent of the post-World War II settlers were recruited from the category of skilled workers, a proportion higher than in other Commonwealth countries. These changes clearly contributed to an increased tendency towards urbanisation. Table 4.7 (below) summarises the overall composition of the white Rhodesian community in terms of country of birth.

Table 4.7: White population by country of birth 1904-1969

Year	% S. Rhodesia	% South Africa	% UK/Eire	% Other
1904	10.1	27.3	44.4	18.2
1911	13.6	30.7	40.9	14.8
1921	24.7	34.7	31.4	9.3
1926	29.1	32.6	29.2	9.1
1931	29.2	34.5	27.1	9.2
1936	34.1	32.8	23.8	9.3
1941	34.1	27.9	26.4	11.6
1946	37.7	26.4	18.3	17.6
1951	31.4	30.4	28.8	9.4
1956	32.5	28.9	28.1	10.5
1969	40.7	21.7	23.0	14.6

Source: Adapted from A. Rogers and C. Frantz, Racial Themes in Zimbabwe: The Attitudes and Behaviour of the White Population (in Mlambo, 2014: 80).

4.3.3. From Federation to Independence 1953-1980

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 1953-1963

Another turning point in the history of Rhodesia came in the early 1950s. By this stage, increasing numbers of British colonies were calling for independence. The British government created the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 in order to control such movements. Known also as the Central African Federation, the Federation comprised Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Tanzania). Following the model of Australia, Canada and South Africa, the idea was to unite the colonies and to create independent nations. At first Africans expressed ambivalence about the Federation then, as soon as they realised that it would mean greater oppression for them, their opposition began to grow until it finally culminated in a period of violence. Another reason for the growing African nationalist movements in the early 1960s was the land issue, which Pasura (2014: 28) identifies as "the rallying point of African resistance to white settlers". Due to the increasing pressure from African nationalists, the Federation fell apart in 1963 and Southern Rhodesia reverted to the status of British crown colony. The two principal parties that would later fight for black majority rule and for the future of an independent Rhodesia were formed during the Federation. These were the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo, and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) with leaders Ndabaningi Sithole and later Robert Mugabe. During the late 1950s and early 1960s the British Government initiated efforts to build a political partnership between the two races. A survey of racial attitudes from 1959 shows that these were not successful and the two nations continued to live in strict segregation (Weinrich, 1973: 11). The policy of partnership was abandoned when the Federation fell apart. As Leys (1959: 294) comments, it became increasingly clear that the white settler community was unwilling to share power with the indigenous population.

Unilateral Declaration of Independence and the Republic of Rhodesia: 1965-1979

The white-dominated Rhodesian Front (RF) party led by Ian Smith came to power in May 1965 and started to call for independence. The British government adopted a policy of "No Independence Before Majority African Rule", stating that Rhodesia would not receive independence unless majority African rule was accepted. The European-minority Rhodesian Front government opposed this policy. The negotiations towards independence between the British and Rhodesian governments failed. Subsequently, in November 1965 Ian Smith, from his position of Prime Minister, renounced any obligations to Britain and proclaimed the country a sovereign, independent power. The British government refused to recognise the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) and imposed an economic blockade on Rhodesia. In 1966 and 1968, in order to resolve the situation, meetings between the British and Rhodesian Prime Ministers (Wilson and Smith) took place. No agreement was reached. Weinrich (1973: 12) observes that, under the UDI, segregation in Rhodesia intensified and, similarly to in the 1930s, the government encouraged separate developments. This meant restricted rights for the blacks in the economic, legal, political and educational spheres. Power was held by the local white community; black Rhodesians were forbidden to vote. According to Wasserman (1978-9: 34), the whites feared that the majority African rule would undermine their economic base, negatively influence their privileged social status and eventually lead to the extinguishing of the white community.

Ian Smith's early efforts were directed towards making Rhodesia a Commonwealth Realm. However, these attempts were abandoned in 1969 when a referendum was held regarding the adoption of a constitution that would guarantee political power to the white minority and declare Rhodesia a republic. Most whites voted to declare Rhodesia a republic, which finally happened on 2 March 1970 following the failed attempts of Ian Smith to negotiate and legalise Independence with the British Prime Minister.

Civil war and Independence

The act of declaring the UDI set off a fifteen-year long civil war against African nationalists, which ended with the defeat of the white rule. Africans kept fighting for their independence and freedom, as they believed it would grant them the right to land. Their initially peaceful nationalism became increasingly militant as the Rhodesian government forced them onto Tribal Trust Lands. There were two major guerrilla factions involved in the war: the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) headed by Joshua Nkomo, and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) eventually led by Robert Mugabe. In 1976 the united Patriotic Front, a short-lived alliance between ZANU and ZAPU, was formed. Black Rhodesians were preparing for war outside Rhodesia in countries such as Zambia, Ghana and Tanzania (Lohman & MacPherson, 1983: 1). In 1972 they started to infiltrate into Rhodesia, where they attacked white farmers. The war progressed slowly and became most intense in the late 1970s. The Rhodesian government made efforts to negotiate a compromise, offering a political system with limited African rights. These attempts failed and in 1977 ZANU and ZAPU intensified their war efforts. In 1979, by when a total of 20,350 lives had been lost (Fuller, 2004: 39), the Rhodesian government began negotiations with the Patriotic Front. A peace conference including all parties was held in 1979 in Britain, at Lancaster House. Nkomo was forced to accept the negotiated terms of the Lancaster Peace Settlement and Rhodesia reverted to its former status of British colony. Britain ensured the peaceful transition of power through free elections held in 1980 in which ZANU, led by Mugabe, won the majority of seats in Parliament. The country became independent that same year with its first President Canaan Banana and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. Independence put an end to the international sanctions and opened up the borders. Since Independence Zimbabwe has been ruled by the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). The party has been repeatedly criticised for corruption, political violence and restrictions on basic freedoms.

Demographics

As indicated in Table 4.3, immigration continued between 1951 and 1969, causing a growth in the white population from 135,000 to 262,000. Despite difficulties, this period was marked by a slight economic boom which was reflected in the increase in white immigration. White emigration increased after the 1960s. Godwin and Hancock (1993: 17) ascribe this to the fact that settlers were rather sceptical whether Rhodesia would continue as a country ruled by whites. The collapse of the Central African Federation between 1963 and 1964 caused disturbances in Bulawayo and Salisbury, and these led to a further loss of almost 20,000 whites (ibid.). Emigration further continued in 1966 as a result of political instability, and especially the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia following the UDI (ibid.).

White emigration, without significant immigration, began to increase in the mid-1970s and continued to grow in the years following Independence. The population of Rhodesia in the 1970s numbered approximately five million, among whom were 230,000 whites (4.6 per cent) and a small population of Indians and Coloureds (Fuller, 2004: 36). From 1972 onwards the civil war escalated, the living conditions and security deteriorated and the political situation became greatly unstable. As a result, many white settlers opted for what was called “the chicken run” or “taking the gap”(McAleese, 1993: 143). The whites often left empty-handed since the government imposed restrictions on emigration, stating that no financial stocks or funds could be taken out of the country (ibid.). According to Godwin and Hancock (1993: 315), in 1979 the white population was 232,000, whereas in 1990 it dropped to 80,000. Fuller (2004: 40) observes that shortly after Independence there were white Rhodesians who “melted back into everyday life and tried to adjust to majority rule”. The statistics nevertheless clearly show that “significant numbers of whites were unwilling to accept the prospects of living as a minority group under majority rule” (Selby, 2006: 116).

Table 4.8: Net white migration 1972-1979

Year	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Migration
1972	13,966	5,150	+ 8,816
1973	9,433	7,750	+ 1,683
1974	9,649	9,050	+ 599
1975	12,425	10,500	+ 1,925
1976	7,782	14,854	- 7,072
1977	5,730	16,638	- 10,908
1978	4,360	18,069	- 13,709
1979	3,416	12,973	- 9,557

Source: Monthly Migration and Tourist Statistics. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of the British South African Police, 1972-1979.

4.3.4. Post-Independence

ZANU and ZAPU merged in 1987 and Robert Mugabe became president. He went on to win the parliamentary elections in 1995 and subsequently the presidential elections in 1996. At the time of Independence, most of the arable land was owned by the white population. The new government therefore called for more equal land distribution. In 1992 the so-called Land Acquisition Act was introduced, on the basis of which half of the land belonging to white farmers was re-allocated to the black majority. There was widespread dissatisfaction with the progress of the land reform that in the 1990s led to violent farm invasions. The attacks, in which civilians were killed, continued in the following years. In February 2000 commercial farms were invaded by veterans of the War of Liberation. The government seized approximately 95 per cent of the farmland and this significantly contributed to further white emigration. Following these events the white population was reduced to about 50,000 (Uusihakala, 2008: 4). The cause of the land invasion lay in the stagnation of agriculture, although the situation was worsened by political violence and human rights violations. Ploch (2010: 32) estimates that in 2008 there were fewer than 400 white farmers in Zimbabwe; in 2009 the number dropped further, to 250. At the same time, the economic situation deteriorated as inflation and unemployment continued to rise. President Mugabe's government has been viewed as autocratic and repressive. There have been problems with

freedom of speech and assembly, restricted access to food and violations of human rights. The discontent among the population resulted in the formation of a new opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1992. The 2008 elections saw for the first time Mugabe's party lose its majority in the National Assembly. In February 2009, following lengthy negotiations, a new coalition government was formed between ZANU-PF and MDC, and Tsvangirai, leader of the MDC, became Prime Minister of the new coalition government. Cabinet positions were divided among the parties. Zimbabwe's economic output had decreased dramatically between 1998 and 2008 as the official rate of inflation rose above 200,000,000 per cent (Mlambo & Raftopoulos, 2010: 4). The same source reports that the economic crisis had a severe impact on the social services and infrastructure, which continued to decline. There were company closures, frequent power cuts and a breakdown in the infrastructure supplying clean water to urban households. A cholera outbreak resulted in 2008. The deteriorating conditions were the main reason for emigration. As Crush and Tevera (2010: 1) point out, "an economy in free-fall, soaring inflation and unemployment, the collapse of public services, political oppression and deepening poverty proved to be powerful, virtually irresistible, push factors for many Zimbabweans".

Emigration has negatively reflected in the skill losses in the private and public sectors. This has, in turn, negatively influenced the quality of healthcare, education and the overall productivity (Crush & Tevera, 2010: 2). Originally, the crisis was said to have had its roots in the colonial history of the country, especially in the racial segregation and land distribution. Recent political and economic developments have significantly contributed to the worsening situation. Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010: 1) argue that a further factor was the formation of the MDC which caused fear of the ruling party ZANU-PF for their political dominance. In 2000 the MDC defeated the government in a constitutional referendum which triggered a wave of terror against both the supporters of the MDC and the white farmers, who were blamed for sponsoring the party (Mlambo & Raftopoulos, 2010: 3).

Independence and the increase in emigration

Generally speaking, emigration out of Rhodesia was always relatively high, yet it was compensated by a continuous flow of immigrants. The trend of white emigration began to

increase in the 1970s and continued after the country gained Independence in 1980. The high outflow of white Rhodesians prior to Independence was due to the intensifying War of Liberation. The attainment of Independence in 1980 led to further white emigration, the reasons for which were uncertainty about a future under the socialist government of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and security fears. According to Tevera and Crush (2003: 6), "[b]etween 1980 and 1984, 50,000 to 60,000 whites left the country because they could not adjust to the changed political circumstances and the net migration loss was over 10,000 per year". Mupanduki (1985: 11) claims that in 1981 a total of 20,534 white Rhodesians left the country and in the following years the rate of white emigrants reached 1,800 a month. Mlambo (2010: 63) suggests that by 1987 there were only 110,000 whites left, approximately half of the white population of 1980, and Godwin and Hancock (1993: 315) estimate that "the white population of 232,000 in mid-1979 became about 80,000 in 1990". Pasura (2008: 89) argues that one of the reasons why emigration intensified was the introduction of the Land Reform and the Resettlement Programme II in 1999. The year 2000 was marked by increased political violence, the invasion of commercial farms and the subsequent destruction of agriculture. The pitiful state of the economic and social situation in Zimbabwe did not only lead to increase in emigration but it also resulted in the fact that in the 1990s immigration came to a standstill. Thus, the economic and social collapse of Zimbabwe may be viewed as both a consequence and a cause of emigration. The Rhodesian Ministry of Immigration undertook steps with the view to stop the emigration. According to Brownell (2008: 591), every white Rhodesian leaving the country received a letter asking if anything could be done by the authorities in order for them to change their minds. Despite such efforts the white Rhodesian population continued to decrease.

No official statistics exist as to precisely how many Zimbabweans have left the country in recent years; the figures available vary from "barely plausible" to totally "outlandish" (Crush & Tevera, 2010: 3). According to the 2002 census there were fewer than 50,000 whites in Zimbabwe and the figure continued to fall (Hartnack 2005). Newspapers brought reports about the seriousness of the situation. The *Sunday Independent* in 2004 reported: "The exodus and murders of Zimbabwe's anguished white population is under way with record numbers leaving their homeland, mostly for Britain or Australia" (Lamprecht 2004). It is estimated that three million (both blacks and whites) left Zimbabwe between

2002 and 2008 to join the growing Rhodesian diaspora abroad (Crush & Tevera, 2010: 3). Independent analysts estimated that in 2005 approximately 30,000 whites remained in the country (ibid.). The last Zimbabwe national population census (2013: 11) of 2012 states that: "Persons of African ethnic origin made up almost the entire population while those of non-African ethnic origin accounted for a negligible proportion." In figures, according to the report, 99.7 per cent of Zimbabwean citizens were of African ethnic origin (ibid.).

4.4. Other aspects of white settlement

4.4.1. Ethnic groups in contact

Since Rhodesia was a permanent home to people of different origins and backgrounds, several contact scenarios can be identified. Firstly, within the white community two main groups came into contact: the Anglophones and the Afrikaners. The relationship between these two groups was marked by the desire of the Anglophone settlers to preserve the "Britishness" and perceived cultural superiority in the development of the colony, which created conflicts and subsequently resulted in hostility within the white community. Also, the whites came into contact with the local Africans. In this case, the imposed superiority of the European settlers led to the implementation of a strict racial segregation policy that persisted throughout colonial rule.

Afrikaners

Afrikaners were present in Rhodesia from the beginnings of the white colony. They first arrived with the Pioneer Column and soon after, numerous others followed in so-called "Treks". According to Selby (2006), one of the best known was the Moodie Trek in 1892 bringing settlers of Afrikaans origin to the eastern part of the country. They concentrated in rural areas such as Melsetter or Enkeldoorn and engaged mainly in farming, trading, transporting, prospecting, mining and in lower-class less-skilled occupations (Atkinson, 1972:

2). Although Kennedy (1987: 19) claims that the Afrikaners were assured by Rhodes that their cultural differences would be respected, the relationship between them and the British was complex. It "began on a consciously amicable footing" (Mlambo, 2000: 146), however, after the Jameson Raid and the Anglo-Boer War the atmosphere shifted towards hostility. Mlambo (2000: 146) claims that the two events made the Rhodesian government fearful that "Afrikaner applicants for entry into Rhodesia were being spurred on by Afrikaner leaders in South Africa so that Afrikaners would eventually dominate the country". The authorities were concerned that large numbers of Afrikaners could undermine the "Britishness" of the colony. As a result the Rhodesian immigration policy was unwelcoming towards the Afrikaner immigration and despite the area's geographical proximity to South Africa, Afrikaners never accounted for more than 15 per cent of the white Rhodesian population (Mlambo, 2000: 150). Besides national prejudice, social prejudice was another reason for their small numbers. The white Rhodesian authorities implemented strict measures to prevent the "poor Dutch" from entering the country. They felt that there was a serious threat that Rhodesia would become "a midden heap for the human wreckage of the Union" (quoted in Chanock, 1977: 16).

The Afrikaners who settled in Rhodesia retained strong ties with South Africa and showed little willingness to assimilate into the dominant British culture. They were often accused of being "rather clannish and exclusive" (Mlambo, 2000: 148). The young colony was clearly British oriented and showed a strong resistance towards non-British norms. This is confirmed in an entry from the 1900 edition of the *Bulawayo Chronicle* that confirms the negative attitudes towards the Afrikaners: "We have had too much of the Cape; its laws and its customs have been pushed down our throats. Rhodesia is distinctly an English community [...] and the laws which are applicable to the Dutch [...] are not applicable here" (quoted in Bonello, 2010: 362). Such attitudes logically contributed to further segregation. Whereas the informal segregation in the early years was a natural development, from the 1920s it was indirectly reinforced by the introduction of various acts and laws that, among other changes, influenced the language policy.

The Rhodesian authorities were aware that Afrikaans had become the official language of the Union of South Africa and wanted to prevent the same happening in their country. The Afrikaans minority strove to have their language officially recognised, yet with

minimal success. In 1917 they complained to the Administrator of the BSAC that the language of the Dutch-speaking population was not officially recognised and asked the government to change "the Code of Instruction [...] in order to provide for the needs and meet the wishes of the Dutch-speaking section of the population" (quoted in Mlambo, 2000: 149). The authorities responded that Rhodesia was a British colony and the language of instruction would therefore remain English. The Director of Education expressed his position thus:

> I am convinced that if the concession of mother-tongue instruction were allowed in the schools of Rhodesia, it would result at once in Dutch districts in the teaching to the children of the characteristic anti-British and anti-Imperial principles of the Nationalist Party.
>
> (quoted in Mlambo, 2000: 150)

In 1918 a leading Afrikaner predicant complained that despite the equal rights the Afrikaners were promised by Rhodes, "children of Dutch speaking parents must only learn English or, better expressed, they must be made into Englishmen. The words 'Dutch speaking Africander' must not be known in Rhodesia" (ibid.: 149). He received the following answer from the Rhodesian authorities: "We have never pretended that this is or ought to be a bilingual country, and if the Dutch people come up to live here, they come up well knowing what the system is" (ibid.). On a similar note the Rhodesian authorities stated that "[t]he official language of Southern Rhodesia has ever since the occupation of the country been English and [...] no provision exists in the legislation of the territory for the recognition of a second official language" (ibid.: 150). It is likely that the negative attitude towards the acceptance of Afrikaans as an official language had an impact on the decision for Rhodesia not to join the Union in 1922, as one of the compulsory requirements was the adoption of a bilingual system. Further, denying Afrikaans resulted in the negative attitude of the Afrikaners towards English and contributed to the growing tensions between the two ethnic groups.

In conclusion, it is evident that there was a clear division among the members of the white community. As Mlambo (2000: 140) describes it:

> […] despite the outward semblance of unity, the white Rhodesian community was deeply divided by, among other factors, racism and cultural chauvinism which emanated mostly from the settlers of British stock, evoking starkly strong reactions from other white groups in the country such as Afrikaners.

Africans

The native population in Rhodesia, which comprised two main ethnic groups, Shona (approximately 80 per cent) and Ndebele (approximately 16 per cent), was of a significant proportion. The growth of the African population between 1901 and 1969 with respect to the European settler community is indicated in Table 4.9 (below). The figure for the total population includes Asians and Coloureds, the two remaining officially-recognised racial categories. Clearly, the Europeans formed a significant minority throughout colonial rule. Even in the late 1950s and early 1960s when the numerical gap between the two racial groups was the smallest, the ratio was nevertheless sixteen Africans to one European.

Table 4.9: Population growth 1901-1969

Year	Europeans	Africans	Total population	Africans to Europeans
1901	11,032	500,000	512,000	45:1
1911	23,606	740,000	770,000	31:1
1921	33,620	860,000	900,000	26:1
1931	49,910	1,080,000	1,130,000	22:1
1941	68,954	1,400,000	1,480,000	20:1
1951	135,596	2,170,000	2,320,000	16:1
1961	221,504	3,550,000	3,790,000	16:1
1969	228,044	4,818,000	5,069,570	21:1

Source: Weinrich (1973: 15)

The BSAC considered it necessary to establish a clearly defined relationship with the natives, one reinforced by laws. Rhodesia adopted the policy of white supremacy and segregation due to which the two groups remained strictly separated. The Rhodesian government argued that the creation of a mixed society is not desired by either party involved (cited in Leys, 1959: 277). The need for strict segregation was often ascribed to the insuperable differences between the two races. In his 1951 speech Prime Minister Huggins stated that there could not be any assimilation

> simply because there is no community of interest or common ground [...] the African and the European have no desire to mix, at the present time. If our grandchildren and great-grandchildren decide to have a *café au lait* race, this is entirely their affair.
>
> (quoted in Leys, 1959: 280)

Africans and Europeans thus lived in two very different worlds although they occupied the same country.

In contrast to other settler colonies, Rhodesia did not develop along the same lines as Australasia or North America where the original inhabitants were deliberately excluded from the development strategy. Nor did Rhodesia follow the system where the races fused. Instead, in Rhodesia, the whites and blacks became economically interdependent. The white community came to depend heavily upon black workers. A self-contained white society could not exist as most of the "dirty" work was carried out by the blacks. Segregation also influenced employment by dividing jobs into African and European. Africans were employed in mining, farming and in the domestic sphere, filling the low-level, unskilled jobs. Most Europeans had contact with Africans only as employers or supervisors. The BSAC stated that:

> Apart from these two great classes, employer and labourer, there will be no direct inter course between white men and black men except for those white missionaries and teachers who give up their lives to the advancement of Christianity and civilisation amongst the natives.
>
> (quoted in Kay, 1980: 96)

Domestic servants were the only group of Africans with whom all whites were in regular contact. By 1904 Rhodesia had 6,991 African domestic workers (Pape, 1990: 701), which

equated to more than one for every two white people. The majority, 90 per cent, were men, while women worked for white households only occasionally as nannies. Keppel-Jones (1983: 377) points out that black servants, collectively titled “Cape boys”, were brought from territories south of the Limpopo, as the local Shona had no intention of working for wages. Initially, the Africans were prohibited from settling in the urban areas. However, in the 1940s, Prime Minister Huggins called for change. He was concerned that under such circumstances “no native would remain on the job long enough to learn it” (quoted in Hungwe, 1994: 14), and this would have a negative effect on the development of the colony. Subsequently, African family housing in urban areas was legalised, however, members of each race resided in strictly separated areas.

During the initial years communication between the Africans and the European settlers was minimal. The Africans spoke no English and the white settlers, except for several missionaries, traders and farmers who lived in close contact with the indigenous population, had no knowledge of the local languages. In the early years the BSAC encouraged the acquisition of African languages since it was seen as a facilitator in enforcing colonial orders on the indigenous peoples. Kennedy (1987) claims that in 1925, after the initial period of the unstructured acquisition of the local languages, the government realised the need for the implementation of a better system of language learning. A suggestion was made that white children should be taught the local vernaculars at school. However, the authorities feared that this would lead to mixing between the two groups and thus jeopardise racial segregation. The idea was therefore abandoned and the overwhelming majority of white Rhodesians remained monolingual in English. At the same time, despite the fact that English had already in 1898 become the official language of the country, Africans continued to have limited access to it. The colonisers failed to develop a socio-economic structure that would encourage the acquisition of English among the indigenous population. The knowledge of English was viewed as a symbol of social rank and many white settlers “consider[ed] it a sign of disrespect for Kaffirs to speak to them in English” (Kennedy, 1987: 158). In addition, the white employers were faced with the issue that the Africans spoke different languages and dialects:

> In this Africa of a thousand languages and dialects, it is essential for the success of the natives, as wage earners, that they should have a common language, intelligible to each other and their masters. It does not matter much what the language is, so long as it is adequate for the ordinary purposes of life.
>
> (quoted in Jeater, 2007: 188)

Communication therefore often took place in "Kitchen Kaffir", which was used over a larger geographical area. This variety, also referred to as Fanagalo or Chilapalapa, is

> [...] a 'language' only in the sense that it can be used to convey some elementary meanings. It has a limited vocabulary, which has been analysed as 70 per cent Nguni, almost entirely of the Zulu form of Nguni; 24% English and 6% Afrikaans. It has no grammar, the words being strung together in something like the English word-order (as the speaker pleases) but without any of the concords, inflexions, or other forms characteristic of the Bantu languages.
>
> (Keppel-Jones, 1983: 407)

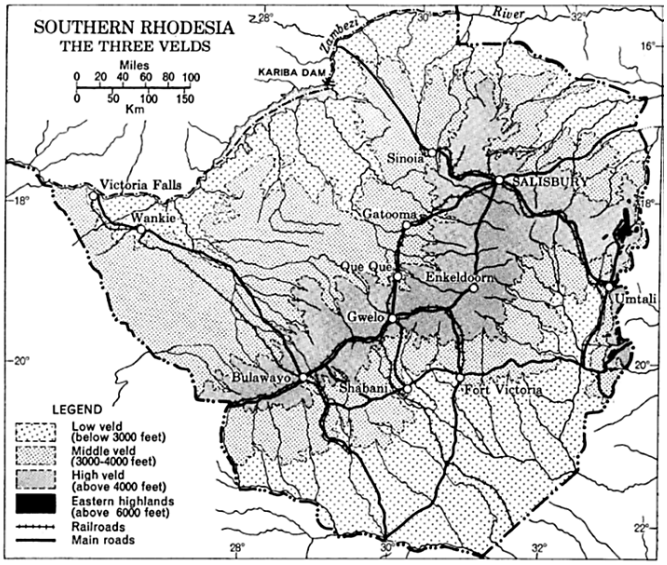
By the 1920s English had clearly won over Kitchen Kaffir and became the *lingua franca*, although in some rural areas Kitchen Kaffir was used beyond this date (Jeater, 2007: 188). Hungwe (1994: 29) observes that Africans had a favourable attitude towards English and recognised its importance not only because it meant work opportunities, but also because "the ability to speak English was a highly valued status symbol".

4.4.2. Settlement patterns

In 1901 the population density in Rhodesia was three persons per square mile; in 1920 it rose to 5.87, and in 1951 it averaged just over seven persons per square mile (Weinrich, 1973: 17). Finally, in 1969 it increased to thirty persons per square mile (ibid.), which means that over this seventy-year period the population grew to ten times its original size. The population was never equally distributed: the distribution was always determined mainly by geographical conditions, which vary across the entire territory. The best conditions for settlement were in the High Veld and in transitional areas between the High and Middle Veld. These areas also offered the most suitable land for farming. Therefore, the majority of

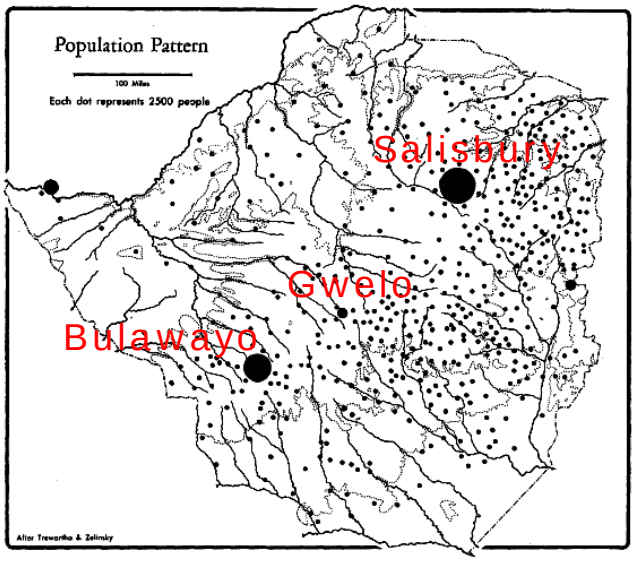
the white population concentrated in the High Veld. All of the main urban centres were situated in this area.

Figure 4.7: Low, Middle and High Veld



Source: Floyd (1962: 566)

Figure 4.8: Population distribution around 1950



Source: Adapted from Trewartha and Zelinsky (1954: 140)

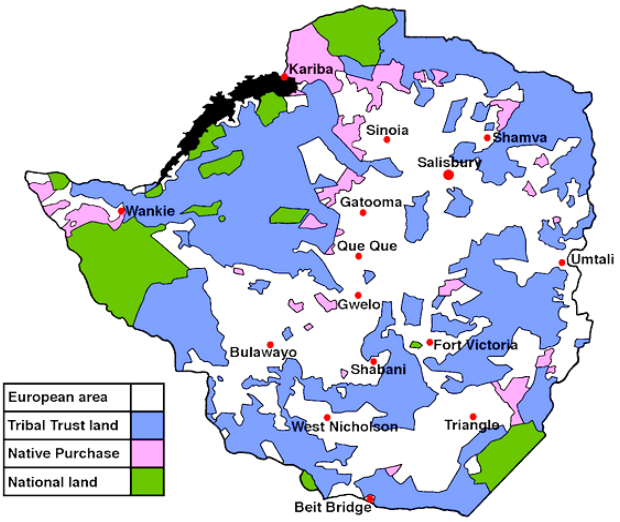
Land division played a crucial role in the pattern of Rhodesian settlement and therefore it is appropriate to view the population distribution against that background. Land division began with the arrival of the Pioneers in 1890, when each member of the Pioneer Column was allowed to stake out a farm of 3,000 acres (Keppel-Jones, 1983: 362). The Pioneer Column was followed by a number of fortune seekers who were also given the right to the land (ibid.). The Rudd Concession gave the BSAC no title to the land so the status of the farms was questionable. However, the BSAC regarded the land as the property of the British Crown and expropriated the tribal lands. This led to the discontent of the natives and in 1894 resulted in the establishment of the Land Commission, which was supposed to address the issue of the settlement of Africans on the land. The Land Commission recommended assigning land for the exclusive use of the Ndebele and proceeded to create native reserves in Matabeleland. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, following the First Chimurenga, additional native reserves were created throughout the country. By 1914, 23,730 white settlers owned 19,032,320 acres of land while an estimated 752,000 Africans occupied a total of 21,390,080 acres (Palmer, 1977: 36). In 1926 the white government appointed the Morris Carter Commission, whose task was to consider the division of the country into strictly European and African areas and to determine the final allocation. The Commission assigned the increasing tensions in the country to the contact between the races and as a solution to this problem suggested stricter territorial separation (Floyd, 1962: 577). The Commission reported that:

> However desirable it may be that members of the two races should live together side by side with equal rights as regards the holding of land, we are convinced that in practice, probably for generations to come, such a policy is not practicable nor in the best interests of the two races, and that until the native has advanced much farther on the paths of civilization, it is better that points of contact between the two races should be reduced.
>
> (quoted in Yudelman, 1964: 69)

This recommendation served as a basis for the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. This Act divided the land along racial lines and further reinforced the existing segregation. The whites were allocated 50 per cent and blacks 33 per cent, with the rest remaining unallocated. A policy of possessory segregation was officially endorsed, which meant that members of each

group were to hold land only in the designated areas. The Land Apportionment Act became the basis of the so-called “Native (African) policy”. The goals of the policy were described as follows: “The object[ives] of our Native policy [...] are the development of the native in such a way that he will come as little as possible in conflict or competition with the white man, socially, economically and politically” (Wilson, 1923: 88). This rigid territorial segregation influenced the entire social and political system of the country. The Apportionment Act was valid until 1969 when it was redrafted as the Land Tenure Act allocating an equal area of 45 million acres to each group. The rest of the territory was designated as national land. As a result of this policy Rhodesia was divided into a patchwork of white areas and native reserves. Similarly to the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, the Land Tenure Act supported strict segregation. It was supposed to ensure “that each race shall have its own area […] the interests of each race shall be paramount in its own area […] neither race may own or occupy land in the area of the other race […]” (The Land Tenure Act, Appendix VI, sections 11, 24).

Figure 4.9: Land apportionment in 1965



Source: Adapted from Young (1967)

In general, the white Rhodesian community always tended to be urban (Blake, 1978: 275). The 1904 census shows that 58 per cent of Europeans lived in urban areas and Smout

(1976: 82) argues that this trend continued throughout the existence of the white colony. Further, the white settlers were divided according to their geographical origins. The British-born preferred towns; South Africans and Afrikaners lived mainly in rural areas. The ratio in 1897 of British-born to South African-born residents in Salisbury was 2:1. According to Kennedy (1987: 48), "such town dwellers as doctors, architects, educators, pharmacists and other persons of schooling derived mainly from Britain where such professionals were relatively abundant". By 1923 Bulawayo, the largest town, numbered 16,363 whites, followed by Salisbury, with 6,462 whites. The two remaining important urban settlements were Umtali and Gwelo (Mlambo, 2014: 84). Blake (1978: 275), for instance, observes that in the 1930s "[n]ine out of ten immigrants took up urban employment and one in every two established himself in Salisbury". As a result of this trend, in the 1960s only 25 per cent of white Rhodesians lived in rural areas (Weinrich, 1973: 19). The 1969 census provides the following data: just over 71 per cent of the European population lived in the four main urban centres. Salisbury with 42 per cent was the biggest and the remaining 29 per cent were divided among Bulawayo, Umtali and Gwelo.

Table 4.10: European population in urban areas 1911-1961 (Salisbury, Bulawayo, Umtali, Gwelo and Que Que)

Year:	1911	1921	1926	1931	1936	1941	1946	1951	1956	1961
Total	10,409	15,046	17,790	25,613	28,210	40,746	44,769	85,182	117,985	159,607
% urban	44.1%	44.8%	45.4%	51.3%	50.9%	59.1%	54.3%	62.8%	66.6%	72.1%

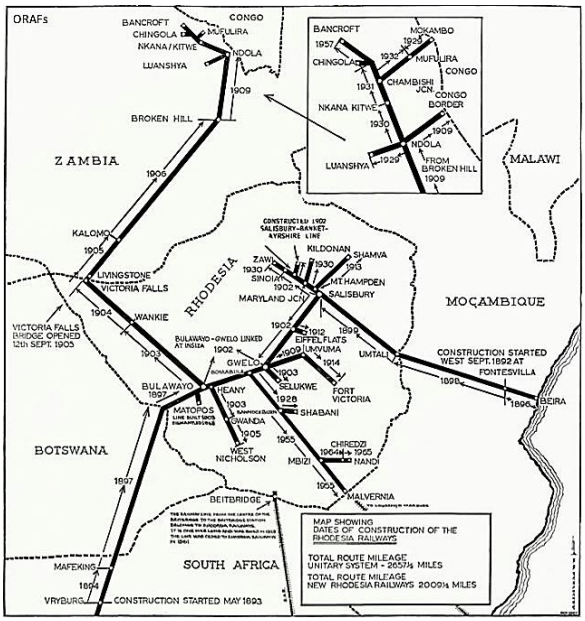
Source: Jackson (1969: 157)

The rural population consisted predominantly of South African and Afrikaans farmers and miners. Farming, connected with the ownership of land, was viewed as prestigious in Rhodesia; however, the rural population was never large. Statistics show that from 1930 there was a steady decline of employees in the sector of agriculture and mining, whereas the number of employees in manufacture, transport, commerce and services increased. In 1951,

for instance, only 15 per cent (6,500) of economically active white men were farmers (Leys, 1959: 78).

Another important factor to influence the settlement patterns in Rhodesia was railway construction. The most important railway lines affecting the situation of major white settlements were constructed at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Two main lines connected Rhodesia with Beira in Portuguese East Africa and with Vryburg in Cape Colony. By early 1898 the Beira-Umtali line, linking Umtali to the Indian Ocean, was completed; in the following year it was extended to Salisbury. Bulawayo was connected with Cape Colony in 1897 and with Beira in 1902. The northward extension from Bulawayo reached Victoria Falls in 1904. The aim of the inland railway construction was to link the existing urban centres and to facilitate mobility. Deviations were made so as to allow access to the principal goldfields at Que Que and Hartley. Few new settlements developed in the twentieth century, and the railway lines built after World War I had little effect on Rhodesia's settlement patterns.

Figure 4.10: Railway system



Source: Gale (1973)

4.4.3. Rhodesian identity

The historico-political developments in the colony went hand in hand with the formation of a settler identity. Bonnello (2010: 342) argues that although the white settler community was far from homogeneous, the settlers perceived themselves as a distinct people with a separate identity. By the early 1920s the white settlers are described not only as "intensely British" but quite "intolerably Rhodesian" (Lowry, 1997: 271). In 1923 Mrs Tawse-Jollie (1923: 14), a member of the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Council, also observes the formation of a local identity:

> Young as the colony is, it has a strong sense of nationality, and not merely of British but of Rhodesian identity […]. We believe in Rhodesia, we believe that she enshrines something worth preserving, and we cling to our heritage not merely for its own sake but because of what it may mean to South Africa and the Empire later on.

The above quotes suggest that despite the colony's instability, a distinct identity began to emerge relatively early. Stedman (1995: 128) argues that for "most whites, the Rhodesian identity was forged in a compressed amount of time, perhaps thirty years". An important factor was undoubtedly the need of the white settlers to distinguish themselves from the groups with which they were in contact in the new territory. Of further importance was also the settlers' complex relationship to Britain. There was, on the one hand, strong patriotism and on the other the struggle for Southern Rhodesia to be politically recognised within the Empire. Clearly, the basis of the new identity lay not in a long common history; rather, it must have been built on the shared present marked by the development of strong local interests. Keppel-Jones (1983: 343) claims that most Pioneers who arrived in Mashonaland in 1890 were brought up according to the British or British South African rules, which they sought to implement in their new homeland. This is confirmed by numerous accounts from visitors, who see Britishness as one of the community's most remarkable features. The white settlers themselves felt that Rhodesia was "essentially a British country, pioneered, bought and developed by British people" who intended to keep it so (quoted in Mlambo, 2000: 144).

Writers of the early issues of the *Herald* describe Rhodesia as a British community in which "British institutions and ways of thought are as real if not as apparent in [their] midst as they are in any English county" (quoted in Bonello, 2010: 354). Another remark in the *Bulawayo Chronicle* from 1896 reads: "In no colony in the Empire is there a deeper feeling or a greater attachment to the Throne than exists in Rhodesia today, and any lapse from that veneration would find no support here" (ibid.). Clearly, the sense of British imperial cultural values and the white dominion ideas of settler capitalism were very important. Also, white Rhodesians shared a belief in the supremacy of their race over the indigenous Africans and the new common identity was therefore mainly "built upon a sense of racial leadership and civilising mission" (Onslaw, 2014: 187). It is possible that the newly emerging Rhodesian identity provided a common bond that overrode other differences. Godwin and Hancock (1993: 18) suggest that apart from the common language and environment, the uniform commitment to segregation and white supremacy gave the white settlers "a remarkable solidarity which minimize[d] differences of nationality, culture and class". Kennedy (1987) observes that the differences among the white settlers were rather blurred in the beginning, which he ascribes to the need for unification in the effort of maintaining security in a hostile environment. Nevertheless, there are clear indications that in the 1930s the demographic and economic growth had already brought about wider social stratification. This can be expected in a society that consisted, on the one hand, of middle to upper class townsmen, mineral prospectors, gentlemanly adventurers, and military officers while, on the other, it included members of the working class, such as farmers, miners and traders (Kennedy, 1987: 31, 36, 102).

4.4.4. Education in Rhodesia

Rhodesia had dual education system, reflecting the structure of a society dictated by strict racial segregation. European and African education departments were administered within the same ministry although their respective developments were separate. As for members of other racial groups officially recognised within Rhodesia, Asians and Coloured students could not attend schools for white pupils.

European Education

Education for white children began through the voluntary efforts of individuals and organisations. The first school for white Rhodesians was established in 1892 and in 1898 the first boarding school offering education mainly to children from rural areas was opened (Atkinson, 1972: 30-31). Between 1901 and 1904 the number of European schools increased from eight to fourteen (ibid.). Even though boarding grants were offered to European children, a great number still remained without access to formal education. According to the 1907 census, from the total of 1,654 children 622 were being educated in aided schools, 205 in private schools, 435 by tutors at home and 392 were receiving no formal education (Atkinson, 1972: 45). One of the reasons why the Rhodesian school system was not more efficient was the increased mobility of the population. Statistics from 1906 demonstrate that "only about one-third of pupils above standard 1 had been in the same school for more than two years" (ibid.). In 1903 an education committee for European education was established and a decision to replace the voluntary school system by a public school system financed by the state was taken (Hungwe, 1994: 8). English was to be the sole language of instruction and greater emphasis was to be placed on British cultural traditions. The idea of state-directed schools was opposed by the Afrikaners, who believed that their children should have the right to learn in Dutch and should be taught about their own culture and national heritage "in order to take pride in being Afrikaner" (quoted in Hungwe, 1994: 8). The Afrikaners campaigned for separate schools, however, their efforts were not perceived positively by the Director of Education, who accused them of wanting to keep the Afrikaans-speaking children "entirely apart from those of British settlers in Rhodesia" (ibid.). The Afrikaners were unsuccessful in reversing his decision and Afrikaans was not officially taught in schools.

In 1931 education in Rhodesia became compulsory for all European children aged between seven and fifteen (Hungwe, 1994: 10). According to Atkinson (1972: 58), by 1934 approximately 31 per cent of children were being educated in boarding schools. After World War II Rhodesia experienced extensive immigration of young families from the United

Kingdom which led to increase of European pupils by 41 per cent, reaching a total of 20,741 (ibid.: 83). Hungwe (1994: 13) observes that boarding schools did not have the capacity to admit all the students, which resulted in the implementation of correspondence education. Until 1940 Rhodesian authorities had recruited teachers in London. In the post-World War II period, however, Britain had to deal with a shortage of trained teachers and the situation resulted in a ban on teacher recruitment (Atkinson 1972).

African Education

Dissimilarly to European education, African education developed mainly through missionaries' efforts. Rhodes supported the missionary education, focused primarily on religion and elementary literary skills, since he believed that "the transition of Africans from barbarism to civilisation must be gradual" (quoted in Hungwe, 1994: 6). Another reason why Rhodes cooperated with the missionaries was that the Royal Charter obliged the BSAC to concern itself with the "general welfare of Africans" (ibid.). In 1924 Keigwin (1924: 54) saw the situation as follows:

> They [Africans] will be our servants, our neighbours [...]. We shall need their assistance. If only on the grounds of assuring to ourselves that assistance, we must face our duty towards them. Because we wish to keep our race pure, because we wish to preserve our cherished institutions, because in effect we are resolved to build a sound white community, it does not mean that we shirk our obvious duty towards this backward people whose place we have taken in the land [...]. In this light then, bearing in mind our underlying policy of segregation, let us consider anew the question of their education and industrial training.

Clearly, there was no intention to offer formal education to the indigenous people. Instead, the main aim was to train the Africans so that they would become more efficient workers in agriculture and industry. According to the 1903 Education Ordinance, African students were to be taught to speak and understand English for functional use only (ibid.). There was

> no insistence [...] that African pupils should learn to read and write, either in English or in their own languages [...]. The sole purpose of such instruction, Duthie [the Director of Education] explained, was to help reduce friction between African labourers and their white employers who often had misunderstandings with each other on account of mutual unintelligibility.
>
> (quoted in Hungwe, 1994: 7)

The number of black schools grew gradually, and by 1906 there were 25 schools for African students in Southern Rhodesia (Hungwe, 1994: 6). In 1922 approximately 51,000 Africans were receiving education (ibid.). Slowly, the non-formal education was replaced by a more formal system. The main lines of African education were laid down in the 1930s; however, the systems were still racially differentiated as the aim was to "encourage Blacks to remain rurally based and thereby avoid clashes with Whites in cities and industrial centres"(quoted in Challis, 1982: 110). Atkinson (1972: 11) claims that by 1939 approximately 95,000 African children were attending primary schools and on average there were fifty pupils per teacher. Teachers were mainly of African origin, with a small number of mission teachers of European origin (ibid.: 116). From the 1940s the government became increasingly involved in African education, which resulted in an increase in the number of government primary schools for African children from two to eighty-nine between 1940 and 1970 (quoted in Hungwe, 1994: 24). Due to the lack of teacher training, teachers' qualifications remained low. In 1949, for instance, 72.2 per cent of teachers in African schools were untrained (ibid.: 15). The abyss between the African and the European standards of education remained so despite the increased efforts of the state to contribute to the improvement of African education. Education for black children began to develop significantly only after Independence in the 1980s (Auret, 1990: 19).

4.5. Summary

This chapter has aimed to provide a view of the colonial and post-colonial contexts pivotal in an assessment of the forces that shaped the evolution of the new language variety. The socio-historical and political processes in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and their effects on the

establishment and growth of the white community were outlined. It was demonstrated that the white population grew mainly through immigration. However, notwithstanding the implementation of various settlement schemes and assisted passages, Rhodesia failed to attract sufficient numbers of permanent settlers who would secure the growth of the white community and provide a foundation for continued population growth. An important factor which worked against large-scale immigration was the highly selective immigration policy. The government aimed to maintain a preponderance of British subjects and to prevent foreign influence. Further, the social class of potential immigrants was strictly controlled, resulting in the fact that lower-class settlers were, by and large, absent. A further characteristic of white Rhodesia, one that persisted throughout colonial rule, was a high population turnover, the consequence of which was the instability of the white community. Despite this, it appears that a distinct identity existed among white Rhodesians some thirty years after the initial settlement. This chapter has demonstrated that there was strict segregation between the Anglophone settlers and the other groups, which was reflected in all spheres of everyday life. Limited contacts were observed not only between the whites and the Africans, but also among individual nationalities within the white community. In general, the English speakers tended to form a closed group from which speakers of other European languages were excluded.

5. Findings

5.0. Introduction

The first aim of this chapter is to establish what evolutionary path RhodE followed. Following the theory that extra-linguistic factors appear to determine the process of feature selection and the evolution of a new variety, the sociolinguistic history of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe was reconstructed in depth in Chapter Four. In the present chapter the findings are viewed in the light of the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Two, Section 2.2. Section 5.1 assesses the stages of the Dynamic Model (Schneider 2007) through which RhodE passed. It also explores the role of dialect contact, drawing on Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation. In Section 5.2 a description of the white ex-Rhodesian community in London, based on the data collected during fieldwork, is offered. The next aim of the current chapter is to present the results of an acoustic phonetic analysis of the vowel system of RhodE in London. Section 5.3 is divided into two parts: sub-section 5.3.1 presents the results of the analysis of short monophthongs, while sub-section 5.3.2 deals with the long monophthongs. The results are shown for individual speakers in the form of a plot accompanied by a description. As a starting point for the description, RP data from Deterding (1997) are used. The final aim of the current chapter is to view the results of the acoustic vocalic analysis against the results obtained from perception analysis (Fitzmaurice 2010) in order to establish to what extent they vary. The comparison is carried out in Section 5.4. Finally, a summary is given in Section 5.5.

5.1. The Formation of Rhodesian English

Phase 1 - Foundation (1890-1920)

Contacts with English on a broader scale began in 1890 with the arrival of the Pioneer Column. Before then the presence of English was restricted and, except for missionaries and

travellers, there was no permanent population of Anglophones present in the territory of today's Zimbabwe. We know that the majority of the Pioneers were of English and South African origin. As for the English-born, exact data pointing to their precise places of origin are not available. What is known, though, is that many came to Rhodesia following longer or shorter periods of stay in South Africa. The majority of the South African-origin Pioneers were born in the Cape Colony. Following Lanham and MacDonald (1979), who claim that the Cape immigrants came predominantly from the south-eastern part of England, an inference may be drawn that southern features were present in the speech of the first settlers. That the Pioneers were on average under the age of thirty years means that they were speakers of the English English and Cape English varieties as spoken in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Pioneers were intended to establish a self-sufficient settlement and were therefore drawn from different social and economic backgrounds. As a result, the feature pool would have contained features from different social dialects, both standard and non-standard.

Regarding the linguistic processes at this phase, although we have no direct evidence, it may safely be assumed that dialect mixing and rudimentary levelling would have occurred. The process of accommodation resulting in the elimination of minority or salient features is expected to have begun during the two-month-long journey undertaken by the Pioneers from Cape Colony. The first two years of the colony's existence saw a continuous influx of white settlers, due to which constant changes in the language ecology may be expected. However, only a very small number of the first immigrants settled in Rhodesia permanently. In 1900, ten years after the arrival of the Pioneer Column, only 26 of the Pioneer Corpsmen were still living in Rhodesia. Early Rhodesia was predominantly a masculine society characterised by considerable population instability. The absence of white women meant that the young settlers had no prospective marriage partners and thus the basis for a permanent society was missing. Mixed marriages were a rare occurrence. Any population growth in the first ten years was almost entirely due to immigration. It may be concluded that because of the lack of stability, the early settlement provided neither a foundation for continued population growth nor favourable conditions for the formation of a new English variety. As a result, the first decade of the colony's existence appears, from a linguistic point of view, to be rather unimportant. This has implications for the founder effect, according to

which the vernaculars of the founding populations are linguistically most significant since they provide the basis for the new variety. It can be argued that in the case of RhodE a significant impact of the founder effect may be excluded.

Although Rhodesia was settled in 1890, the formative years of RhodE must have come later. The varieties of English spoken by the Anglophone settlers who arrived between 1900 and 1918 are likely to have been considerably more influential in the formation process than those spoken by the Pioneers. By 1900 the white colonists had spread to the rest of Rhodesia and, due to the systematic immigration of women, the colony's internal reproduction began to increase. The process was slow and it took approximately 30 years before the gender ratio reached near-parity. Between 1901 and 1911 the white population grew by approximately 12,500. Nevertheless, the locally-born accounted only for about 12 per cent of the white population. The shift from mining to farming, which took place around 1900, contributed to greater stability. Farms were being established in the High Veld near the main urban centres. Mining was still present, albeit on a small scale, and a certain proportion of the white population therefore remained highly mobile. The relative isolation in which miners and farmers lived in the early years disappeared around 1900 with the construction of the railways, which connected the main urban areas with the most significant mining centres and also Rhodesia with the neighbouring countries. As a result, the dichotomy between urban and rural life was, to a certain extent, reduced. These developments brought about the transition from a frontier to a settlers' society, positively influenced the community's stability, and created a more favourable environment for the formation of a new variety of language.

Immigration continued after 1900, however, unlike in other British Southern Hemisphere settlement colonies, from 1903 the geographical origin of Rhodesian immigrants was controlled by the government and its organisations administering immigration. In order to preserve the British character of the colony, typically only Anglophone immigrants were given the right to settle in Rhodesia. Consequently, the majority of the post-1900 settlers were of British origin, and again came predominantly from England and South Africa. Records tell us of the presence of Scottish, Irish, and Welsh minority groups in the territory. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that their small numbers rendered them linguistically insignificant. The STL strand tended to maintain strong

affiliations with their homeland and fostered the British identity. British identity was clearly one of the ties keeping the white Rhodesian community together, such that for the non-Anglophone settlers "gaining acceptance into the community was difficult, if not impossible" (Venables, 2003: 109). The only significant non-Anglophone group present in Rhodesia consisted of the Afrikaners, who arrived from South Africa. They were present in the colony from the beginning, yet their numbers, strictly regulated by the immigration laws, remained under the threshold of 12 per cent. The Afrikaans-speaking minority never became integrated into the mainstream British society. The first reason was the attitude of the Anglophone settlers, who considered them culturally inferior. Secondly, the Afrikaners themselves showed little desire to be integrated into the mainstream British community; instead, they strove to preserve their own cultural identity. It may therefore be concluded that the communication environment was influenced by significant interethnic segregation, which resulted in the limited contribution of Afrikaans to the feature pool. The traces of contact with Afrikaans are observable mainly on the lexical level.

Besides the geographical origins, Rhodesian authorities issued regulations over the respective social origins of the settlers. The prospective settlers were asked to prove that they had sufficient capital in their possession before they were granted the right to enter the country. In order to prevent the problem of poor whites present in South Africa, "whites of leisured classes who would neither stay nor work" (Fitzmaurice, 2010: 269) were prevented from settling in Rhodesia. Restrictions on selling land and the high costs of the journey to Rhodesia were two additional factors which worked against poor immigrants. As a result, a more selective society may be expected, in which representatives of the lowest social strata would be either numerically insignificant or even entirely missing. The core of the white community consisted of educated professionals with financial security. There was no need for unskilled workers, as such labour was provided by the local African population. The proportion of middle and higher social strata settlers was thus relatively high. As a result, the feature pool would have contained a higher proportion of standard features than is the case in other major Southern Hemisphere colonies where the settler communities were more heterogeneous socially. In addition, early Rhodesia looked towards British English for linguistic norms. In general, the settlers believed that it was crucial to maintain a high standard of English. Such an attitude is expressed in the following quote from the *Rhodesia*

Herald: "[T]he day may come when Rhodesia will be the last and we hope the permanent refuge of the English language – 'the well of English undefiled'" (quoted in Bonello, 2010: 355). Also, in 1912 the Director of Education appeals to parents and guardians stressing the importance of Standard English:

> You have doubtless realized that the youth in this country are at a disadvantage in the manner of learning the correct pronunciation of the English language. More often than not their ears are accustomed to variants of the English language far from pleasant to hear and which, if acquired, would in later years betray a lack of cultured training.
>
> (quoted in Hungwe, 1994: 26)

In sum, in the STL strand dialect mixing of different geographical, and to a lesser extent social, dialects is characteristic of this early phase. Contact with other European languages was negligible and their influence on RhodE therefore limited.

Turning to the role of the IDG strand during the foundation phase, contact with the indigenous tribes, speakers of the Shona and Ndebele languages, must be considered. It should be stressed that the relationship between the Africans and the STL strand was marked by hostility, mainly because the white settlers claimed the indigenous land. Although the size of the white community was negligible with respect to the local population, the whites enjoyed a significantly higher social status and occupied a privileged position in colonial society. The settlers refrained from socialising with the indigenous population and a policy of strict racial segregation was implemented from the beginning. The territory had as early as in 1894 officially been divided into black and white areas and the natives were moved to the newly-created Native reserves. The urban centres were exclusively European and the only contact between the whites and the natives was in the context of work. Since the Europeans did not master the tribal dialects, and the Africans had a limited knowledge of English, communication possibilities were limited. Records tell us that in the early period

> […] communication between Europeans and Africans was reduced to Kitchen Kaffir, a hybrid language, a mixture of English, Afrikaans and Zulu. It was a language of instruction from master to servant to do this and that, rather than to hold a conversation. It was readily learned because of its brevity […]
>
> (Thompson, 2008: 147)

Outside the work domain, the sociolinguistic conditions were not favourable for extensive interaction between the STL and IDG strands. Africans had very few opportunities to gain access to English. Consequently, the spread of English among the IDG strand was slow. Some knowledge of English was gained through missionary education, although this reached only a small proportion of the IDG strand. In line with Schneider (2007: 34-35), the early phase was characterised merely by marginal bilingualism in the IDG strand. Segregation and separate developments within each of the two strands resulted in the fact that the linguistic impact of the IDG strand on English at the early stages was very weak. The STL strand clearly did not accommodate to the indigenous population. The influence of the indigenous languages is seen mainly in toponymic names, which were largely preserved in Rhodesia.

Phase 2 - Exonormative stabilisation (1920-1970s)

Between 1911 and 1921, for the first time, internal reproduction contributed more significantly to the population growth. By the 1920s Rhodesia had a distinct white community that expanded over the entire territory thus the colony gained greater stability. By this point, "the character of the Rhodesian European population had already been modelled" (Schutz, 1973: 10). English became established as the official language in almost all domains such as administration, business, law or education. Subsequently, the 1920s may be considered as the onset of the exonormative stabilisation. There were no discernible changes in the geographical and social composition of the new immigrants. Their cultural origins and orientation also remained unchanged. South African-born Anglophone farmers were in the majority, closely followed by English-born settlers, many of whom came *via* South Africa. According to Uusihakala (2008: 21), Natal was a source of significant numbers of white Anglophone settlers in the later years. The situation began to change in the 1930s when Rhodesia received more immigrants directly from Great Britain. The majority were skilled professionals who settled mainly in urban areas. The population continued to grow.

Despite this, there were until the 1940s still almost as many emigrants as immigrants. The influx of British military personnel during World War II increased the population significantly and British settlers continued arriving in the post-War period. In addition, as a result of the new immigration policy, the number of non-English speaking settlers increased. This was, however, only a brief phenomenon. Statistics confirm that these immigrants did not stay in the country for long. During World War II, for the first time in history, immigrants significantly outnumbered emigrants. In the 1970s the trend reversed and it persisted until Independence in 1980. For the linguistic situation this would mean that the new immigrants brought features of pronunciation that had developed in Britain only recently. In general, it may be concluded that the white Rhodesians were, therefore, likely to have encountered new linguistic forms with great frequency.

If the composition of the white society according to the place of birth is considered, it becomes evident that from the 1920s the numbers of British-born, South African-born and Rhodesian-born whites were almost equal, each group representing approximately one third (Figure 5.2). These statistics indicate that firstly, the birth rate went up, in fact Schutz (1973: 8) observes that in 1921 38.5 per cent of white Rhodesians were married. Secondly, only about 10 per cent of the white population was born elsewhere. Given that the British-born immigrants outnumbered the South African-born in the 1930s and in the post-World War II period, it could be expected that this was reflected in the composition of the white community. Nevertheless, this is not the case. Therefore, it is safe to assume that migration among the British-born must have been higher than among the South African-born Rhodesians. The population turnover in towns is likely to have been substantial, bearing in mind that following World War I the population became progressively urbanised and by the early 1950s only approximately 15 per cent of the white population were farmers. It appears that, although numerically small, the rural population tended to be more stable than the urban population. The demographic instability was not only a characteristic feature of early Rhodesia: it persisted throughout the existence of the colony. Brownell (2008: 595) comments on the scope of migration between the mid-1950s and 1980:

> An annual average of 4.1 per cent of Rhodesia's total white population emigrated each year over the 24 years from 1955 to 1979, and an average of 4.6 per cent entered every year. This would be the percentage equivalent of the entire cities of Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester being completely replaced by new people every year in the UK.

Clearly, the considerable migration had negative implications for the stability of the colony. In the late 1960s a very small number of settlers was indigenous. In 1969, seventy-nine years after the arrival of the first white settlers, 130,613 white Rhodesians were born outside the country while 92,934 were born locally. The majority of those born outside Rhodesia came from the United Kingdom and South Africa, and more than half were post-World War II immigrants (Rhodesia 1969 census).

The fact that the population growth was mainly due to immigration would have implications for the applicability of Trudgill's (2004) model of new-dialect formation. Clearly, the Rhodesian situation was very different from that in New Zealand and other major Southern Hemisphere settlement colonies. In Rhodesia, the locally-born whites never outnumbered the foreign-born. When the population growth in Rhodesia is compared with that in Australia between 1955 and 1972 it emerges that while in Rhodesia migration accounted for more than 60 per cent of the white population growth, in Australia it was only 35 per cent of the total population growth (Brownell, 2008: 594-595). Similarly, in New Zealand, in 1886, approximately 40 years after the beginning of the main European settlement, 52 per cent of the population was born locally (Graham, 1996: 112). Another factor possibly to have contributed to the high migration was the fact that unlike in colonies that numbered exiles among their settlers, Rhodesians were not expelled from their country of origin. For them emigration was always an option. Brownell (2008: 597-598) claims that when Rhodesia failed to meet the expectations of the white settlers, they tended to emigrate rather than staying and vocalising their discontent. The factors mentioned above undoubtedly contributed to the fact that Rhodesian population was "one of the most unstable and demographically fragile ruling ethnic castes in any polity anywhere in the world" (Brownell, 2008: 592).

Figure 5.1: Number of immigrants vs. emigrants 1921-1979

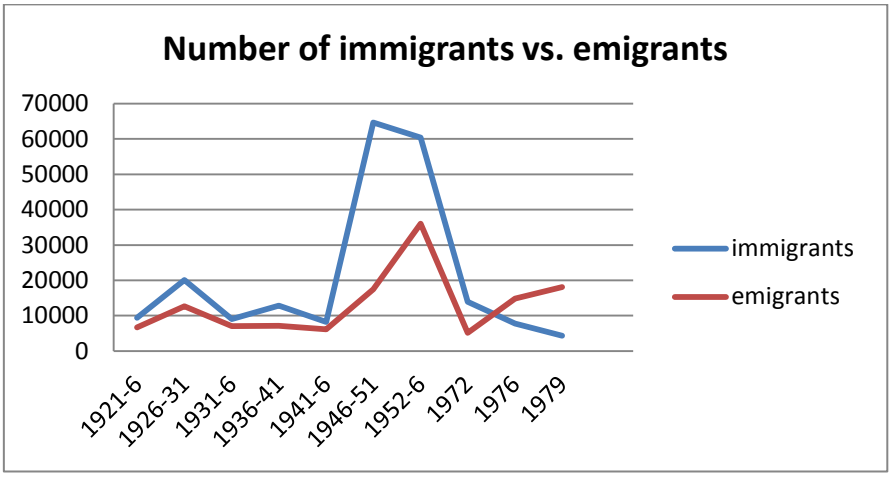
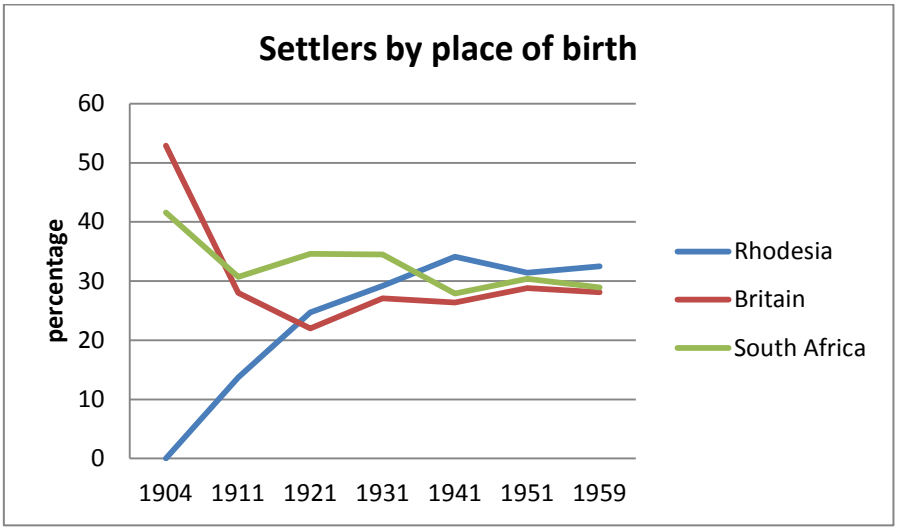


Figure 5.2: Composition of the white population by country of birth 1904-1959



In general, the population was predominantly urban. Towns continued to grow rapidly, offering suitable housing and infrastructure. Significantly more English-born residents than South Africans and Afrikaners settled in towns. By the 1960s 62 per cent of the entire white population lived in the three main urban centres: Salisbury, Bulawayo and Umtali, of which the first two displayed the highest population density and the greatest diversity. During the same period McEwan (1963: 431) observes that "[p]olitically, economically and socially the

country is now led by whatever emerges from these centres". McEwan (1963: 431) comments also on the high degree of intra-urban mobility, stimulated either by marriage or by socio-economic movement. Following the presumption that the process of new dialect formation is predominantly an urban phenomenon requiring a high density and diversity of speakers (Gordon *et al*., 2004: 240), it is clear that Salisbury and Bulawayo provided ample opportunities for mixing and levelling to occur and must have played a central role in the linguistic processes during the formation of RhodE.

Changes occurring in the identity of the STL strand in this period seem to be in line with those outlined by Schneider (2007). Although the society is still described as overpoweringly British and the attachment to Britain remains strong, records of the newly emerging Rhodesian identity start to appear in the 1920s. The settlers begin to feel a sense of belonging to the new territory; the British identity subsequently encompasses the settlers' overseas experience. By the 1920s, Fisher (2010: 134) argues, the settlers forged "through opposition to both British and Afrikaner, a distinctive culture that was neither metropolitan nor native". Hill (2003: 8) observes that despite the fact that in the 1960s "only a handful of settlers could trace their lineage back to the Pioneer Column that had originally occupied the territory […] they developed a Rhodesian identity and defined themselves as white Africans". Similarly, Brownell (2011: 16) argues that "the constant population shuffle meant that [the] racial unity and the adoption of Rhodesian racial mores, was necessarily inculcated to, and adopted by, new immigrants quickly". However, he also points out the possibility that the transience of the white population weakened the common Rhodesian identity (Brownell, 2008: 592). In the 1970s, excluding locally-born children, approximately half of the white population had been in Rhodesia only for 25 years, which means that their Rhodesian roots were not very deep. This view is supported by Sabelo and Finex (2013: 240), who claim that due to the constant immigration "there was no real sense of nationhood or even a shared vision of what constituted 'Rhodesian-ness'" among the white population.

As for the linguistic developments during this period, it may be inferred that the most significant input into the feature pool consisted of dialects of standard and non-standard English English and South African English as spoken by the working and middle classes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as these provided the backgrounds of a considerable number of the settlers. The most important urban centres were settled

predominantly by English-born Anglophones, speakers of more prestigious varieties. Following Hickey's (2003: 213) claim that the more prestigious varieties are more important in the formation process, it could be expected that features from these dialects contributed to the emerging variety to a greater extent than did the South African inputs. Mixing and further levelling would have been ongoing, however, the feature pool was constantly filled with new features brought in by the numerous new immigrants. It is difficult to assess precisely what exact linguistic effects the continuous migration exerted, yet it may be argued that the unstable contact environment resulted in greater variability than in the linguistically more stable colonial situations described by Trudgill (2004) in the new-dialect formation model. The instability would have influenced the selection of features from the pool by the locally-born children. In addition, the significant British immigration in the 1940s is likely to have caused further changes to the feature pool. The rate of population turnover could have slowed down the linguistic processes and may have caused the emerging variety to be more prone to linguistic change. Of further importance for the linguistic situation is the international isolation of Rhodesia between 1965 and 1980 caused by the economic and cultural sanctions. During this fifteen-year period Rhodesians had limited interaction with speakers of other English varieties. Fitzmaurice (2013: 485) observes that

> [i]n this period, the only varieties of English to which Rhodesian whites were consistently exposed were restricted to varieties of South African English, including Afrikaner English. A linguistic consequence of formal political and cultural isolation in this period for the variety of English spoken by Rhodesian whites was its consolidation as an ethnic dialect.

Therefore, due to the political and geographical isolation it could be expected that the linguistic developments may have taken place at a slower pace.

The role of education in this period should also be considered. It can be hypothesised that due to the increased mobility, education before the 1930s played only an unimportant role in the formation process. Following the introduction of compulsory education in 1931, it is feasible that the exposure of children to standard English increased. About one third of all children were being educated in boarding schools, where they were instructed by teachers from England who most probably promoted RP and standard British English. Since a

significant number of children spent the larger part of the year under the constant influence of tutors, it is further possible that the parents' respective dialects were of less importance. Schooling could, therefore, have led to the fact that certain salient features in the speech of children were eliminated and replaced by more mainstream ones.

As a result of the government's regulations on immigration, the numbers of Afrikaners remained constantly low thus any influence from Afrikaans during this phase would also have been low. As during the foundation phase, the geographical and social segregation was largely preserved. The Afrikaners resisted integration and were determined to preserve their independent identity, one symbol of which was the Afrikaans language. However, their call for the recognition of Afrikaans as an official language failed to trigger a positive reaction and the language policy in Rhodesia ensured that English remained the sole official medium of instruction. The Afrikaans-speaking children were instructed in English, which led to bilingualism and eventually resulted in Anglicisation of the Afrikaans population in Rhodesia. Depending on the place of settlement, the time required for the language shift to English varied, however, among the urban Afrikaners it usually occurred within one generation (Adhikari, 2009: 171).

In line with Schneider (2007), the contact between the Anglophones and the Afrikaners, albeit limited, led to more fundamental linguistic changes, detectable mostly on the lexical level. Meaningful words such as *veld* "savannah grassland", *lekker* "nice, good, pleasant" or *kopje* "rocky outcrop, hill" were borrowed into English (Fitzmaurice, 2010: 280-281). Certain Afrikaans traces may also be detected in morphosyntax. Such traces, not numerous, are mainly shared with WSAfE. Examples include the temporal adverbials *just now*, or *now now* for *later* or *shortly* and the aspectual structure *busy V-ing* as in "*She's busy waiting for a call"* for the present continuous tense (Fitzmaurice, 2010: 280). "I will do it *now now"* usually means that the time when the action will be performed is further removed than in the expression *"I will do it now"*. In Afrikaans the equivalent would be *nou-nou* (Bekker, 2012: 145). Fitzmaurice (2013: 486) points out that the "troopie" argot spoken among young Rhodesians during the Civil War shows more significant traces of Afrikaans. She further observes that the Afrikaans influence is more notable in the speech of less well-educated and rural white Anglophones (ibid.).

As for the developments in the IDG strand, the spread of English remained limited in this period. This was mainly caused by the geographical and social distance between the two strands thus the indigenous population had restricted access to English. The whites were not interested in disseminating English among the native population; their policy was to provide the IDG population with only as much access to English as was necessary for basic communication. Therefore, following the education ordinance from 1903, English was taught for functional use exclusively. This resulted in limited bilingualism and contributed to the shift away from Kitchen Kaffir towards English, which was largely completed by the 1920s. After 1940 African education went through numerous changes; however, those contributed in no significant way to the further spread of English in the IDG strand. One of the issues was that English was being taught by unqualified African teachers. The IDG strand nevertheless clearly began to see the knowledge of English as an asset, and the attitudes to English were becoming more positive.

Although the housing of African families within urban areas was legalised, the natives still lived in self-contained areas and social contacts between the two strands remained restricted. Efforts on the part of the British government in the 1950s and the 1960s to build a partnership between the two races can be observed. In 1960, in his address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Prime Minister Edgar Whitehead recognised that the different parties would have to learn to co-exist in the same territory:

> I want to make it clear that we who have our homes in Rhodesia are never going to leave; we shall stay on indefinitely for the next three, four, five hundred years. Naturally, the African people will never leave; and every sensible young Rhodesian brought up in the country knows that we have to learn to work together, and that the time must come when everybody born in the country is called a good Rhodesian regardless of his race or colour.
>
> (Whitehead, 1960: 195)

These efforts, however, yielded few positive results and in the mid-1960s, following the UDI, segregation again intensified. Instead of moving closer towards each other, the two strands remained separate geographically, socially and linguistically. The conditions for the further intertwining of the strands and for the development of a common national identity were obviously unfavourable. As a result, the contact with African languages caused relatively

minor changes in the linguistic system of English, especially on the phonological and morphosyntactic levels. The African influence is seen mainly in the acquisition of loanwords. RhodE contains borrowings for flora, fauna, topography and general lifestyle (Fitzmaurice, 2010: 281). Examples from chiShona include: *gomo* (Shona ngomo) "hill, mountain", *gwasha* "thick vegetation in a canyon" or *donga* "ravine or riverbed in a depression". From IsiNdebele came *chongololo* (IsiNdebele tsongololo) "millipede" or *mopani/mopane* "worm". Borrowings used in the area of general lifestyle include *moosh* "nice, good" or *gortcha* "barbecue" (v.) (both from Shona). My informants have confirmed that these words are used by speakers of RhodE in London only when they speak to other ex-Rhodesians with whom they share the common experience and not otherwise. Fitzmaurice (2010: 280) further observes that the use of borrowings is determined by the formality of the situation. Naturally, the less formal the situation, the greater is the tendency of speakers to use such lexical items. These lexical expressions undoubtedly serve as markers of Rhodesian English through which the speakers identify with the territory. In addition, they also set Rhodesian English and South African English apart (Fitzmaurice, 2015: 210).

Phase 3 - Nativisation

The end of the fifteen-year long Civil War that led to Independence in 1980 and thus to a definitive separation from Britain marks the beginning of nativisation. Independence entailed decolonisation, which resulted in a considerable reduction of numbers in the STL strand. As Godwin (1996: 326) puts it, "[s]lowly the whites were undergoing a metamorphosis from settlers to expatriates". Fisher (2010: 177) further argues that the exodus following the end of the Civil War "drained the white community of its lifeblood, leaving it changed". It therefore appears that the formation process of RhodE was interrupted by the changes in the political and social systems at this juncture. A very small resident population remained in the country, yet the STL strand became largely insignificant. There emerged a situation different from that outlined in Schneider's (2007) model, where further intertwining between the strands takes place following Independence. It may be

argued that due to the lack of favourable conditions there was not enough time for the variety to nativise.

Following Independence, there was a clearly observable weakening of political ties with Britain. Schneider's (2007: 41) claim that during nativisation members of the STL strand begin to perceive themselves as permanent residents of British origin, is applicable only to those who stayed after the country attained Independence. Fitzmaurice (2015: 205) notes that the socio-political changes and Independence brought about significant changes into the identity of the white settlers:

> By independence in 1980, therefore, the names 'Rhodesia' and 'Zimbabwe' commanded very different ideological and racial connotations for its inhabitants. Whereas 'Rhodesia' labels a temporary historical and geographical territory, namely the colonial territory initially demarcated by Rhodes' British South Africa Company and defined by the settler colonial state, 'Zimbabwe' denotes a particularly black African nationalist reinterpretation of the settler territory in terms of the international system of nation-states on the one hand and an attempt to put aside primordial ethnic, regional and tribal identities to assume a homogeneous postcolonial identity on the other.

Shortly after Independence, Lelyveld (1982: para 1) observes that:

> Technically, there are no Rhodesians left in the world, since there is no Rhodesia. But white immigrants who are streaming into South Africa from Zimbabwe cling to the name and to racial attitudes that sometimes seem to put them to the right of most local whites.

Similarly, Pasura (2014: 60) comments on the Rhodesian *vs*. Zimbabwean division among the members of the British diaspora:

> Many of the white Zimbabweans who emigrated just prior to, and after, the country's independence maintain a Rhodesian identity, and phrases like 'Rhodesians never die' (Godwin, 1993) aptly describe the tenacity of that identity. Rhodesians have an uneasy relationship with the majority of the Zimbabwean diaspora as they disassociate themselves from anything Zimbabwean and continue to use old names of cities and places, for example, Salisbury (Harare) and Umtali (Mutare).

Although the white ex-Rhodesians who live in the diaspora do not form a homogeneous group, it appears that they attempt to preserve the Rhodesian identity associated with colonial Rhodesia. On the official level this is achieved largely through the contact magazine *Rhodesians Worldwide*, which aims at "keeping Rhodesians and those interested in Rhodesia connected in far flung corners of the world" and at "keeping the spirit of Rhodesia alive" (www.rhodesia.org). On the linguistic level a distinction must therefore be made between RhodE, a variety connected with colonial rule, and WhZimE, a variety spoken in post-colonial Zimbabwe. It seems that, unlike in the case of RhodE, in WhZimE the process of nativisation is, to a certain degree, continuing.

The post-Independence loosening of ethnic boundaries and attempts to create a multiracial society are reflected in an increase in the number of contacts between the STL and IDG strands. It appears that the ethnolinguistic boundaries have become somewhat blurred and the frequent opportunities for prolonged social and cultural contact have brought changes into the identities in both directions (Auret, 1990: 101). As for the white identity, Fitzmaurice (2015: 201) observes that in contrast to the situation before 1980 when the white population typically identified with race-oriented values, a growing percentage of whites in the post-Independent Zimbabwe, especially those born after 1980, are moving towards non-racially determined values. Legal barriers no longer exist, yet the ethnic fragmentation of the society is nonetheless visible. According to Auret (1990: 9), one of the tasks following Independence was to build a new common cultural identity. However, this might be an ambitious task, as Mlambo (2014: 259) observes that "Zimbabwe's contested precolonial and colonial history […] did not provide a favourable and solid foundation for postcolonial nation-building or the development of a common national identity". The government's efforts to unify the country in the post-colonial period seem so far not to have been extensive (ibid.). Nevertheless, Mlambo (ibid.) predicts that a shared national identity is likely to develop in the future.

Further, Fitzmaurice (2013) observes that besides more intensive contact with the IDG strand, the generation of white Zimbabweans born after Independence has, with respect to the previous generations, wider contact with other Southern Hemisphere Englishes. The influence of these varieties can be detected in the speech of white Zimbabweans (ibid.). Fitzmaurice (2015: 209) also reports that white Zimbabweans perceive

their speech as being distinct from both British and WSAfE, and are aware of differences on the lexical as well as phonological levels.

Although the STL strand in today's Zimbabwe numbers fewer than 25,000 settlers (Fitzmaurice 2012), the presence of the white Anglophone community has clearly caused changes in the local culture and made English significant in all areas of life. Following Independence, the intensified interracial contact and changes in educational policy have led to the further spread of English in the IDG strand, and consequently contributed to the increase of bilingualism. The importance of English is reflected in its role in education, among other factors. Mlambo (2009: 22) observes differences in English proficiency and distinguishes between varieties spoken as (a) native, (b) near-native, (c) acrolect, (d) mesolect and (e) basilect. He further points out that the contact with native English speakers is geographically determined (Mlambo 2009). In contrast with the situation in towns, the indigenous population living in rural areas has virtually no contact with the native varieties spoken by the STL strand. In general, English is spoken essentially as a second language among the indigenous population and "[t]he vast majority of Zimbabweans appear to speak varieties of English which reflect the structural properties of Shona particularly at the level of phonology" (Mlambo, 2009: 24). Mlambo (ibid.: 23) concludes that a distinct Zimbabwean variety of English is "already in operation 'on the ground'"; however, it has still not been formally and officially recognised. Therefore, he suggests that instead of using the term "English in Zimbabwe", we can speak about the existence of "Zimbabwean English" (Mlambo, 2009: 23).

5.2. Ex-Rhodesians in London

In the years leading up to Independence and in the 1980s, the most popular emigrant destination for white Rhodesians appears to have been South Africa (Uusihakala 2008). Nevertheless, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada also attracted a sizeable number (Chikanda 2010). A survey from 1996 demonstrates that approximately half of the whites who left Rhodesia settled in South Africa and a third

headed for the United Kingdom, while the rest chose to resettle mainly in Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada (cited in Uusihakala, 2008: 45). After 1990 the United Kingdom became one of the principal destinations for Rhodesian and Zimbabwean emigrants (ibid.). Among the main reasons was undoubtedly the historical and colonial connection between the two countries, as well as a relatively relaxed pre-2002 immigration policy allowing Rhodesians to enter and obtain residence (Pasura, 2014: 34). Further, as Godwin and Hancock (1993) note, most of the whites who emigrated to Rhodesia after 1965 had the option of retaining their British citizenship, as the UDI was not recognised by the international community. In addition, the British Government in 2009 responded to the deteriorating situation in Zimbabwe by starting an initiative to repatriate a small proportion of elderly British passport-holders who had been living and working in the former colony.

For numerous reasons no exact figures are available as to how many Rhodesians and white Zimbabweans are currently residing in Great Britain. Firstly, statistics do not distinguish among different ethnic groups. For example, according to the population census of 2001, there were 47,158 Zimbabweans living in Britain and in 2008 estimates of the Zimbabwean population reached 200,000 (Pasura 2008). In 2010, according to the Office of National Statistics, the number of Zimbabwean-born people living in the United Kingdom was estimated at 122,000 (Muriti & Mawadza, 2011: 118). However, given the overall number of white Zimbabweans, they clearly represent only a very small fraction of this figure. The tracking of accurate figures is further complicated by the fact that many white Zimbabweans did not retain their Zimbabwean citizenship after they emigrated to the United Kingdom. Some maintained a pre-existing British citizenship, while others, the direct ancestors of British citizens, entered the country on an ancestry visa. This visa was valid for four years, and after this period they became eligible to apply for permanent resident status. White Zimbabweans with ancestors from other European countries were able, although they reside permanently in the United Kingdom, to acquire a corresponding passport/nationality. Pasura (2010: 208) estimates that in terms of social status the majority of white Zimbabweans living in Britain are highly educated professionals from middle- and upper-class backgrounds. Pasura (2006) further asserts that the Zimbabwean population is dispersed across the United Kingdom and outside London, the places with the highest concentrations are Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool.

The white ex-Rhodesians interviewed for the purposes of this project confirm that the main reason for the fragmentation of their families is found in political developments following Independence. While the younger generations prefer to emigrate to South Africa, Australia, New Zealand or the USA, the older generations seem to favour the United Kingdom. Most give two reasons for this preference: firstly, many having emigrated to Rhodesia from the United Kingdom, "they understand England"; secondly, the existence of publically funded health care system appears significant. The informants estimate that there are few white Zimbabweans to have remained in Zimbabwe by choice. Elderly people in general find it more difficult than younger ones to relocate, mainly because of social ties. The white ex-Rhodesians in London give different reasons for their emigration. Among the most common is the unfavourable political situation, which has led to progressively deteriorating living conditions. The lack of basic necessities such as food, petrol, water or electricity cuts have made life in Zimbabwe intolerable. Further, the interviewees often quote professional development and limited work opportunities as reasons for their departure. Those with young children typically desire greater stability for their families, along with good schooling and job opportunities for their offspring. Another reason is the difficulty for young white people to get started in Zimbabwe, mainly due to the positive discrimination that makes purchasing a property or obtaining a mortgage complicated. Last but not least, those who used to live on farms report that they felt a great fear for their lives following the land invasions and the eviction of white farmers. The reasons vary, yet they may be summarised in the words of one of the informants who claims that "most white people left because Zimbabwe was just not a good place to live".

The white community in London seems heterogeneous. Some of the informants belong to the third generation of Rhodesians, while the majority are the first Rhodesian-born generation whose parents came to Rhodesia after World War II. The main reason why they have chosen to emigrate from Rhodesia to London was because they had ancestors who came from the United Kingdom and they could therefore enter the country on an ancestry visa. Others give the presence of relatives or friends in the United Kingdom as a deciding factor, since they knew they could initially rely on their help. About one third of the interviewees can trace their origins back to the Anglophone South Africa; one informant reported that their parents were originally Afrikaans-speaking, but shifted to English after

they arrived in Rhodesia. The majority of the informants lived in the urban centres (such as Harare and Bulawayo), while only two belonged to the farming community.

The informants had held different occupations in Rhodesia. The majority agrees that it was initially difficult to adjust to the new environment and to find a job in London. Some feel disadvantaged by their accent, on the basis of which they are classed as foreigners; others report that their qualifications are often not recognised in the United Kingdom. However, the majority are content with their decision to leave Zimbabwe. They describe life in London as comfortable and appreciate that it offers opportunities which they would not have back in Zimbabwe, such as travelling or buying property. The informants nonetheless claim that they do not feel at home in London. They often mention that for them "home" is where their family is; some therefore quote being apart from their families as the main reason why they have never settled. The second most frequently quoted reason is the absence of a common history, due to which they experience a lack of "rootedness" in the United Kingdom. Many long to go back, but, realistically, admit that the chances of their return, at least for their generation, are zero. Many go back to Zimbabwe to visit parents, relatives and friends when they have the opportunity, although not more often than once per year. These trips are becoming less frequent because the majority of their close friends and relatives have also left Zimbabwe. The Internet is the most common means of keeping in touch for ex-Rhodesians and white Zimbabweans all over the world.

The white community was extremely close-knit in Rhodesia. In London, though, there appear to be only weak ties among the white ex-Rhodesians who, unlike the black Zimbabweans, do not tend to gather in one location. The ex-Rhodesians are widely dispersed across London and their places of residence are determined by job opportunities rather than by family or friendship ties. Regular encounters are rare because the distances between them and their relatives and friends are often considerable. Although they report being proud of being Zimbabwean, there is a clear desire to become integrated into the local community. A network does exist among the ex-Rhodesians in London, and more generally in the United Kingdom: they know about each other even if they do not tend to group into one community. With the exception of the occasional white expatriates' reunion few, if any, organised efforts are made. The gatherings serve as opportunities to remember and nurture

the past and to connect with other Rhodesian expatriates. The above observations suggest that white ex-Rhodesians do not constitute a homogeneous group in London.

5.3. Acoustic analysis

5.3.1. RhodE short monophthongs

Female speakers

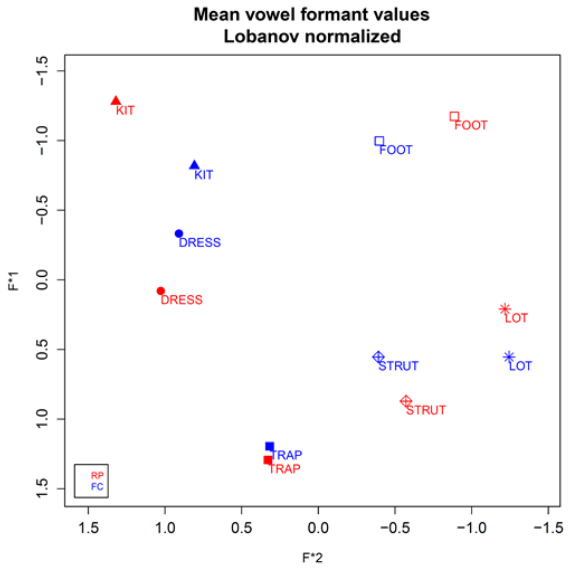
Speaker 1 (FC)

Age group: 60-64

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 2005

Figure 5.3: Short monophthongs – Speaker 1



With respect to RP KIT is more centralised, whereas DRESS is clearly more raised. The KIT and DRESS vowels are relatively close together. The plot generated for individual vowel formant values confirms that there is a certain overlap of these two vowels. Both vowels are realised with a degree of variability. DRESS sometimes appears to be only slightly raised and KIT is not always centralised. The realisation of TRAP is very similar to that found in RP. LOT, which is placed directly behind STRUT at the same level, is somewhat lowered. STRUT appears to be raised and shows slight fronting, although, again, this vowel is fairly variable. Finally, FOOT is fronted.

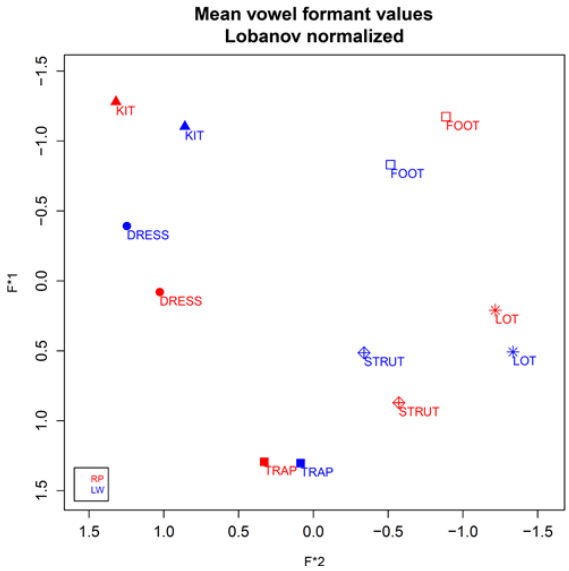
Speaker 2 (LW)

Age group: 35-39

Origins: South African, rural

Year of emigration: 1995

Figure 5.4: Short monophthongs – Speaker 2



The short vowel inventory of Speaker 2 is similar to that of Speaker 1, the main difference being that KIT is somewhat less centralised in Speaker 2. DRESS is clearly raised. Detailed analysis of the individual tokens reveals that there is less overlap between STRUT and LOT with respect to Speaker 1. LOT is placed directly behind STRUT at the same level. STRUT is slightly raised and fronted; LOT appears to be lower and somewhat retracted. TRAP is retracted with respect to RP. FOOT is fronted; however, the fronting is variable.

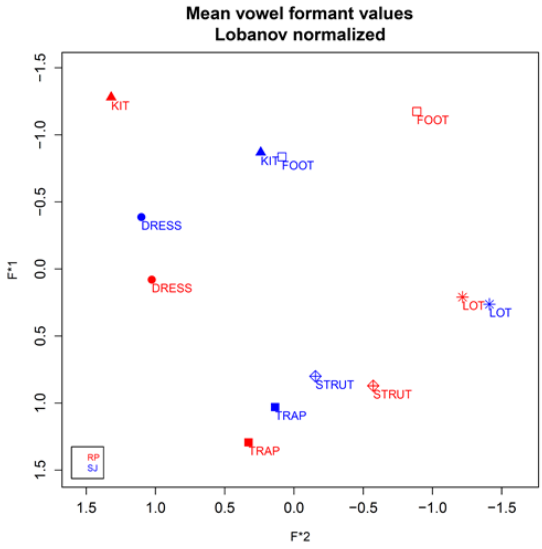
Speaker 3 (SJ)

Age group: 35-39

Origins: Afrikaners, rural

Year of emigration: 1998

Figure 5.5: Short monophthongs – Speaker 3



The KIT vowel is significantly centralised while FOOT is considerably fronted. As a result, there is significant overlap between these two vowels. Also, a high variability in the realisation of these vowels is observed. DRESS, as in the cases of Speakers 1 and 2, is raised. TRAP is somewhat retracted and raised. STRUT is slightly fronted; the analysis of individual vowel formant values shows a significant overlap between TRAP and STRUT, as well as considerable variability in the realisation of the latter. LOT is very slightly retracted.

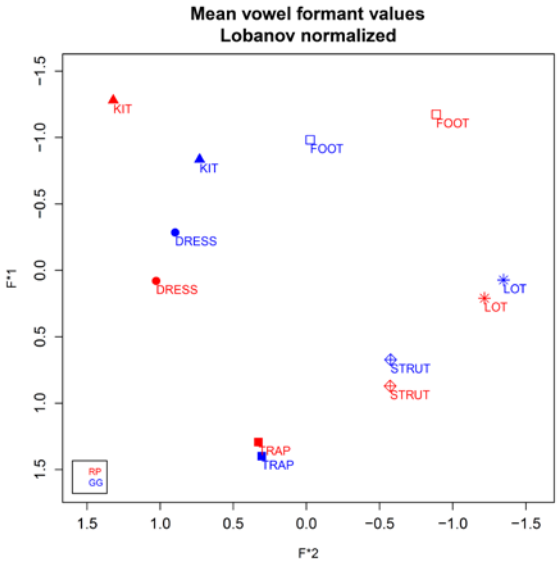
Speaker 4 (GG)

Age group: 40-45

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 2001

Figure 5.6: Short monophthongs – Speaker 4



KIT is clearly centralised and DRESS is raised. The distance between KIT and DRESS is reduced so that these two vowels encroach on each other. However, the distance is larger compared to the values of Speaker 3. FOOT shows a significant degree of fronting resulting in a certain overlap between KIT and FOOT. In contrast to Speaker 3, there is here a larger distance between TRAP and STRUT. The realisation of both vowels is very close to RP. LOT is slightly retracted. This speaker shows high variability in the realisations of KIT, FOOT and STRUT.

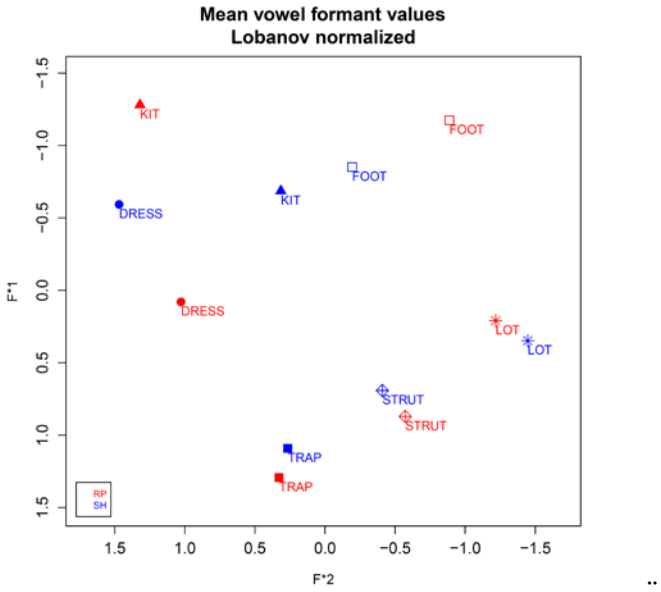
Speaker 5 (SH)

Age group: 40-45

Origins: South African, rural

Year of emigration: 2001

Figure 5.7: Short monophthongs – Speaker 5



DRESS is significantly raised, while KIT is considerably centralised. However, KIT displays a large range of realisations. DRESS and KIT seem to have almost the same height. FOOT appears to be higher with respect to KIT and is clearly fronted. TRAP and STRUT are only very slightly raised with respect to RP. Certain variability for STRUT is observed. LOT is somewhat retracted.

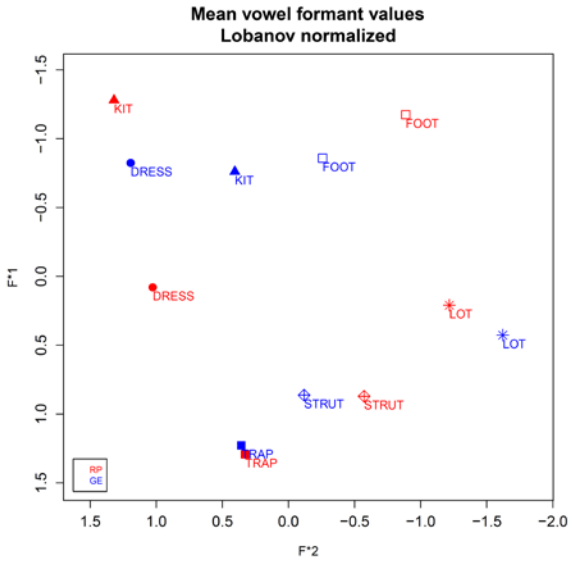
Speaker 6 (GE)

Age group: 30-34

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration 2004

Figure 5.8: Short monophthongs – Speaker 6



The short monophthong inventories of Speakers 5 and 6 display similarities. The DRESS vowel is significantly raised while KIT is centralised. The KIT, DRESS and FOOT vowels are almost at the same height. FOOT is clearly fronted and a more significant overlap with KIT is observed for this speaker than for Speaker 5. TRAP is very close to RP; STRUT is slightly fronted and displays a certain overlap with TRAP. LOT is significantly retracted and somewhat lowered. This speaker shows a slightly smaller degree of intra-individual variability.

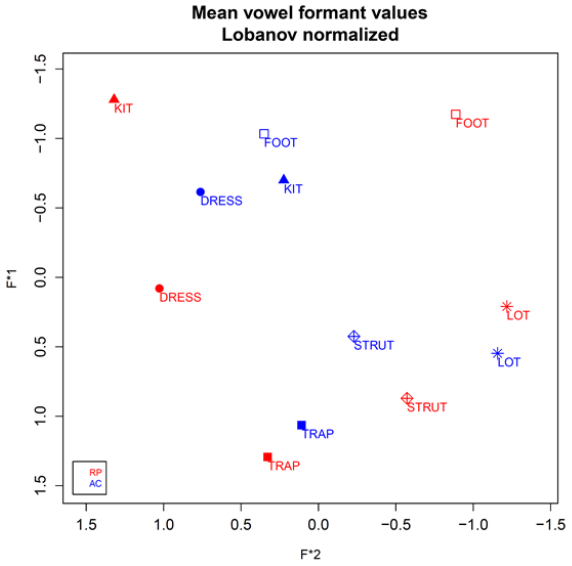
Speaker 7 (AC)

Age group: 30-34

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration 2008

Figure 5.9: Short monophthongs – Speaker 7

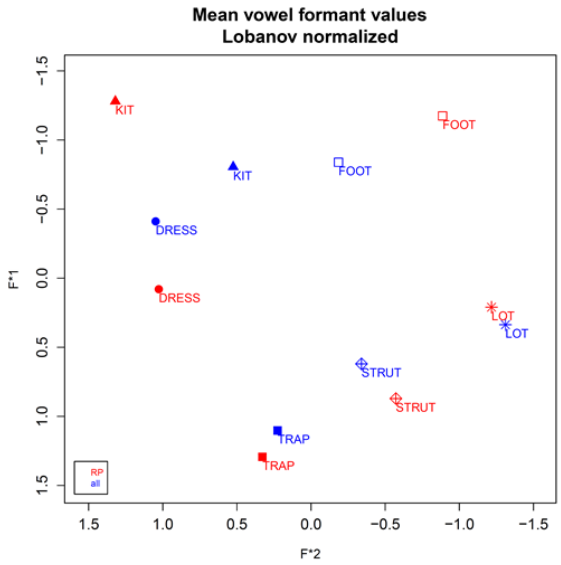


KIT shows clear centralisation, and DRESS is raised. This is the only speaker whose FOOT vowel is so advanced that it extends beyond KIT. The distance between FOOT and KIT is so small that these two vowels encroach on each other. TRAP is, in addition to being higher, also slightly retracted. The analysis of individual TRAP tokens reveals a wide range of realisations of this vowel. Similarly, STRUT also shows a fair degree of variability; however, in most instances it is raised and somewhat fronted. LOT is lowered. Overall, a high degree of intra-individual variability was noted for this speaker.

All female speakers

A summary of the short monophthongs for all of the female speakers is offered below. Figure 5.10 shows the overall short monophthong inventory based on the speaker means of the seven female informants described above.

Figure 5.10: Short monophthongs all female speakers



KIT

The KIT vowel shows clear centralisation and is, in most cases, realised as [ɪ̈]. The female speakers do not seem to demonstrate the so-called "KIT split". However, there appears to be a difference between the realisation of KIT initially and in velar environments, on the one hand, and elsewhere, on the other. For instance, in words such as *give, biggest* or *international* KIT appears to be less centralised. Overall, we can say that some female speakers exhibit a greater tendency towards KIT centralisation than do others and that this vowel shows a degree of intra- and inter-individual variability.

TRAP

This vowel is somewhat raised above the RP values. For most of the RhodE female speakers TRAP is also slightly retracted. In general, TRAP may be described as a raised front vowel realised in the vicinity of [a̟].

DRESS

For all female informants the DRESS vowel is clearly raised, with the most common realisation appearing to be [e̟]. However, this vowel shows considerable intra- and inter-individual variability. The analysis of individual tokens reveals that there are numerous instances of a more central realisation, in the vicinity of [ë̟].

LOT

This vowel appears to be slightly retracted with respect to RP. All female speakers display an overlap of LOT and the long vowel BATH, albeit to varying extents. For some female speakers these two vowels are so close that the distinction seems to be primarily that of length. An analysis of the average respective durations of LOT and BATH suggests that there is enough difference between them for these two vowels to retain a phonetic distinction. It appears that LOT is somewhat unrounded, and is most commonly realised as [ɑ].

STRUT

STRUT is, with respect to RP, somewhat higher as well as slightly fronted. This claim applies to most of the female speakers across age groups. However, the extent of fronting varies from very slight to more considerable. This central-to-front vowel displays a fair degree of intra- and inter-individual variability. The most typical realisation is [ɐ ~ e̟].

FOOT

The vowel FOOT is realised in the vicinity of [ʊ̈], and is sometimes even more fronted [ʉ̟]. This pattern applies to the female informants across all age groups; however, it appears that younger speakers have a tendency towards more significant fronting and unrounding. In

such cases there is a considerable overlap between KIT and FOOT. Some female speakers also demonstrate a certain overlap of FOOT and GOOSE. Nevertheless, FOOT is mostly lower than GOOSE thus these two vowels remain clearly separate.

Male speakers

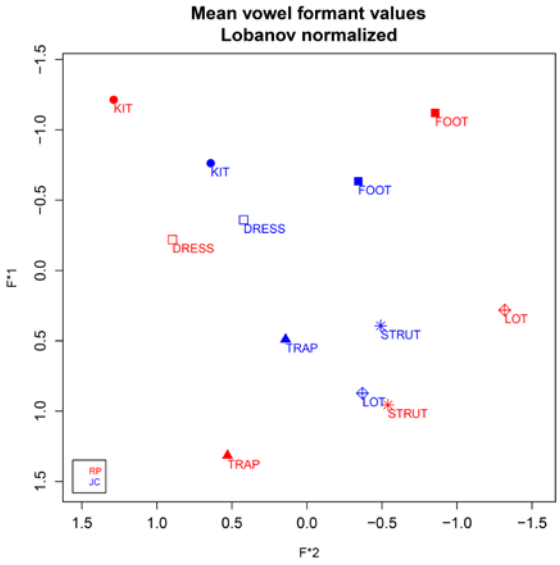
Speaker 8 (JC)

Age group: 60-64

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 2005

Figure 5.11: Short monophthongs – Speaker 8



The short vowel inventory of this speaker seems generally to be somewhat centralised. KIT is centralised; DRESS is raised, but is also fairly retracted. The FOOT vowel is fronted. Both STRUT and TRAP are raised; the latter also appears to be slightly retracted. The realisation of LOT, which is lowered but also significantly advanced, is interesting. The two short vowels displaying the greatest variability are FOOT and STRUT.

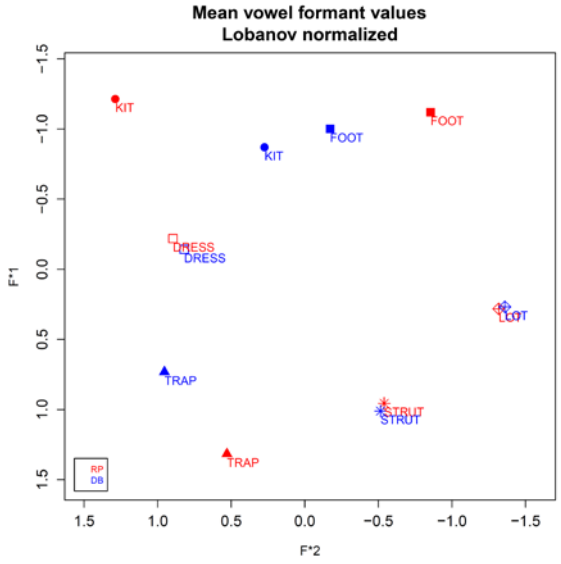
Speaker 9 (DB)

Age group: 55-59

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 2002

Figure 5.12: Short monophthongs – Speaker 9



Speaker 9 shows significant centralisation of the KIT vowel. FOOT is considerably fronted and slightly raised above the level of KIT. DRESS shows the same realisation as in RP. TRAP is significantly raised, resulting in the fact that the distance between TRAP and DRESS is reduced and these two vowels overlap significantly. LOT and STRUT seem to show no considerable difference with respect to RP. A considerable degree of variability has been noted for this speaker, with the possible exception of the realisation of STRUT.

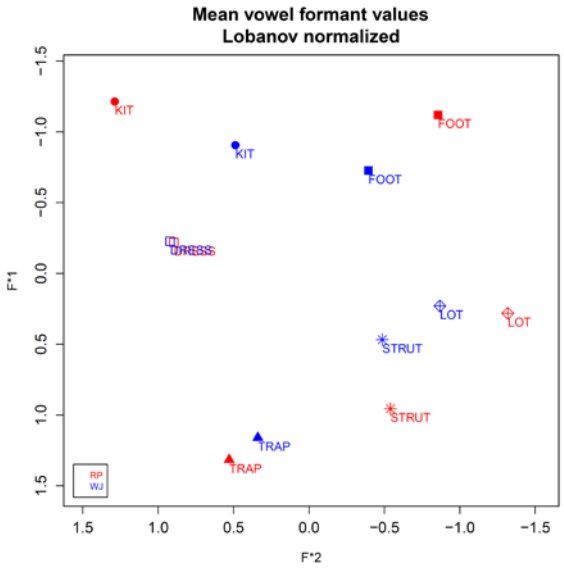
Speaker 10 (WJ)

Age group: 40-45

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 1998

Figure 5.13: Short monophthongs speaker – Speaker 10



KIT shows a tendency towards centralisation and FOOT is fronted. These two vowels also show the greatest variability. DRESS appears to be identical with RP, whereas TRAP is slightly raised. LOT is not retracted in the case of this speaker. STRUT is higher with respect to RP and lies close to LOT. An analysis of individual vowel tokens shows an overlap of STRUT and LOT.

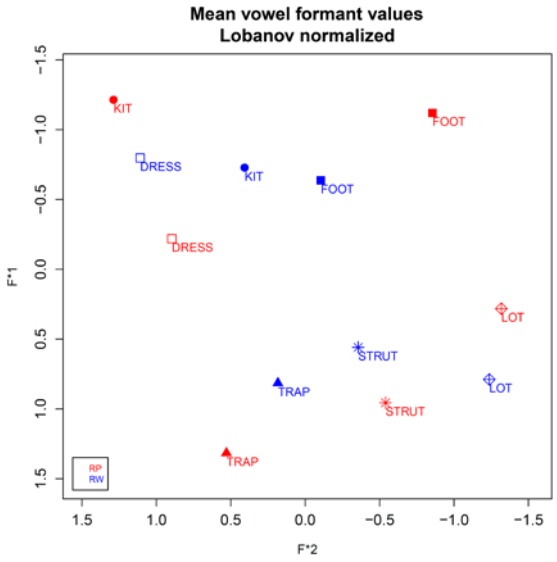
Speaker 11 (RW)

Age group: 35-39

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 1995

Figure 5.14: Short monophthongs – Speaker 11



In the case of Speaker 11 the DRESS vowel is raised: it is higher than KIT and FOOT. KIT is centralised; however, considerable variability in the realisation is noted. FOOT is significantly fronted and again displays a wide range of realisations. TRAP is raised and somewhat retracted. Similarly, STRUT shows raising. LOT is clearly lowered.

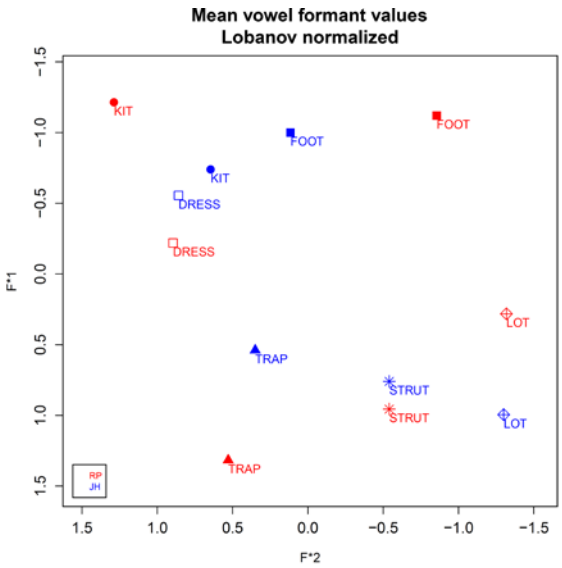
Speaker 12 (JH)

Age group: 30-34

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 2005

Figure 5.15: Short monophthongs – Speaker 12

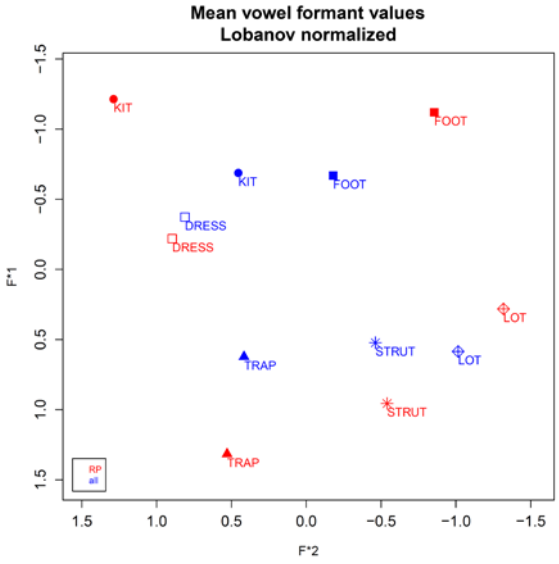


KIT is clearly centralised and DRESS is raised. These two vowels show a significant overlap. FOOT is considerably more fronted than in RP. TRAP is significantly and STRUT slightly higher than in RP. The individual token analysis of STRUT shows that this vowel has a wide range of realisations. LOT is considerably lowered with respect to RP. The realisation of DRESS and KIT seems to be consistent; the remaining short monophthongs show a considerable variability.

All male speakers

A summary of short monophthongs for all of the male speakers is now provided. Figure 5.16 (below) shows the short monophthong inventory based on the speaker means of the five male speakers described above.

Figure 5.16: Short monophthongs all male speakers



KIT

The KIT vowel is clearly centralised, realised as [ɪ̈]. As in the case of the female speakers there is no KIT split. Nevertheless, differences in the realisation of KIT in the initial position and in velar environments, as opposed to in other environments, have been noted. In the initial position and in velar environments (words such as *kids, skills or English*) KIT appears to show less centralisation, whereas in other environments it displays more central values. Further, the degree of centralisation varies according to the speaker. KIT appears to be one of the short vowels with the highest amount of intra-individual variability.

TRAP

This vowel is significantly raised in the case of the male speakers. The degree of raising is higher than that observed for the female speakers. In general, it may be said that this vowel is, for both male and female speakers, higher than [æ] but lower than [ɛ]. The most common realisation appears to be in the vicinity of [ɛ̝].

DRESS

With respect to RP DRESS appears to be raised only marginally. DRESS is most commonly realised as a close front vowel in the vicinity of [e̝].

LOT

LOT is clearly lowered yet not retracted with respect to RP. In comparison to the female informants' samples the lowering is significant. Similarly to the female speakers most of the male speakers have some overlap with BATH, which demonstrates a certain similarity in the quality of these two vowels. The most common realisation of LOT appears to be [ɑ].

STRUT

With respect to RP STRUT is higher. The vowel is realised in the range of a near-open central vowel [ɐ].

FOOT

FOOT is significantly fronted and shows less rounding. This means that it is realised in the vicinity of [ʉ̜], in some cases even approaching [ʏ]. Fronting was noted for all the male speakers and its degree varies only slightly among speakers. With respect to the long vowel GOOSE the findings are similar to those for the female speakers. Some male speakers show a partial overlap of FOOT and GOOSE; however, with FOOT lying lower, the two vowels remain clearly separate.

Figure 5.17: Short monophthongs all speakers

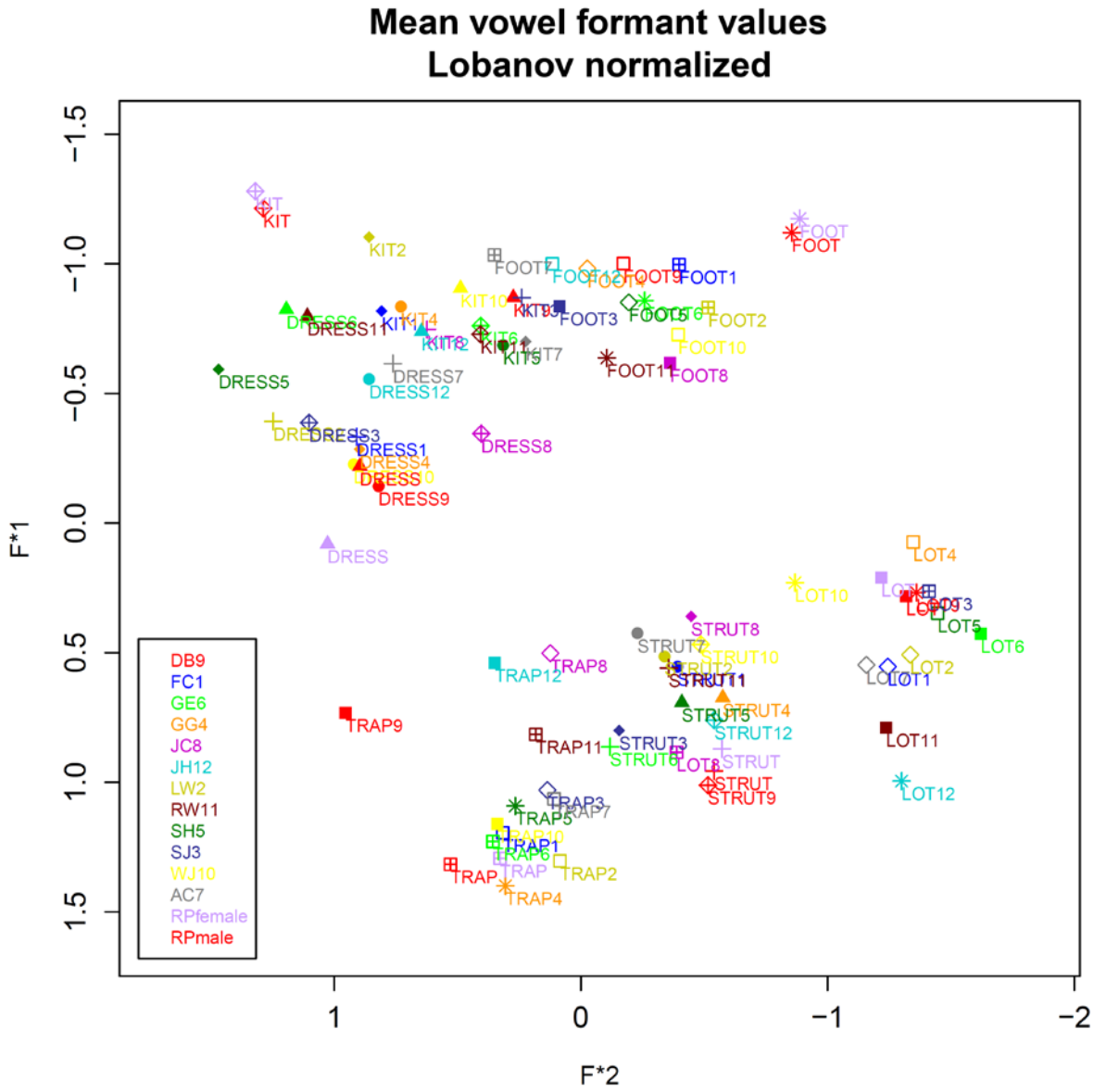


Figure 5.17 (above) highlights the differences in short vowels that are evident in both the male and the female vowel spaces. The description below takes into account factors such as the ages, genders and length of residence of the informants. Considering the overall picture for all speakers, the following may be observed:

KIT

The KIT vowel is clearly centralised for all speakers. The highest degree of centralisation has been noted for Speakers 5, 6, 7 and 11. Although these speakers belong to different age groups, none is older than 44. Speakers 6 and 7 show the shortest length of residence, while Speaker 11 has been in London for the longest period. Speakers 3, 9 and 10 also show significant centralisation, although their KIT vowel is slightly higher. The least-centralised values have been observed in the case of Speakers 2, 4 and 1. All of these speakers are female and, while they belong to different age groups, none is younger than 40. Further, their respective lengths of residence in London vary.

FOOT

The FOOT vowel is significantly fronted for all speakers. The highest degree of fronting has been noted for Speakers 3, 7 and 12. All of them are younger than 40, however, their lengths of residence vary. While Speakers 3 and 7 are female, Speaker 12 is male. The least degree of fronting has been observed for Speakers 1, 2, 8 and 10, who are, with the exception of Speaker 2, all older than 40. Again, these speakers show different lengths of residence in London and include representatives of both genders.

DRESS

The highest degree of raising has been observed for Speakers 6 and 11, closely followed by Speakers 5, 7 and 12, who also show a substantial degree of raising. With the exception of Speaker 5, all are younger than 40. Again, these speakers show different lengths of residence and are representatives of both genders. The other end of the spectrum is represented by Speakers 4, 9 and 10, who demonstrate the least degree of raising. All of these three speakers, in contrast, are older than 40.

TRAP

With regard to TRAP the most significant raising has been noted for Speakers 8 and 12. The least raised TRAP vowel values are produced by Speakers 2, 4 and 6. In addition, Speaker 9 shows significant fronting. The identification of a pattern cannot be determined since there

are clear differences in both the speakers' ages and in their respective lengths of residence. The only observation to be made is that the speakers demonstrating the most noticeable raising are male, while the least raised TRAP vowels are produced by females.

STRUT

The highest degree of raising in STRUT has been observed in the cases of Speakers 7, 8 and 10. On the other hand, Speaker 9 shows the lowest realisation of this short vowel. For Speakers 3 and 6, in addition to raising some fronting is observed. The only pattern that can be determined is that Speakers 3 and 6 are both females younger than 40.

LOT

As far as LOT is concerned, the majority of speakers demonstrate lowering. The only speaker who has a somewhat raised realisation is Speaker 4. The most extreme degree of lowering is noted for Speakers 11 and 12, who both belong within the younger age category (younger than 40) and are both male.

5.3.2. RhodE long monophthongs

Female speakers

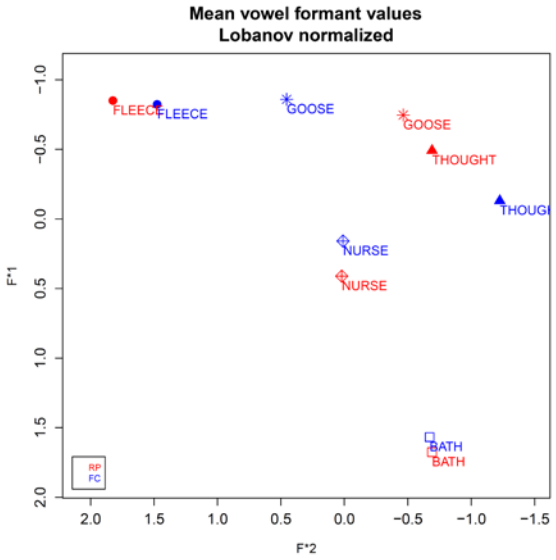
Speaker 1 (FC)

Age group: 60-64

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 2005

Figure 5.18: Long monophthongs – Speaker 1



The GOOSE vowel is clearly fronted. FLEECE shows slightly less fronting than in RP. BATH shows little difference with respect to RP, NURSE appears to be slightly raised and THOUGHT is lower and retracted.

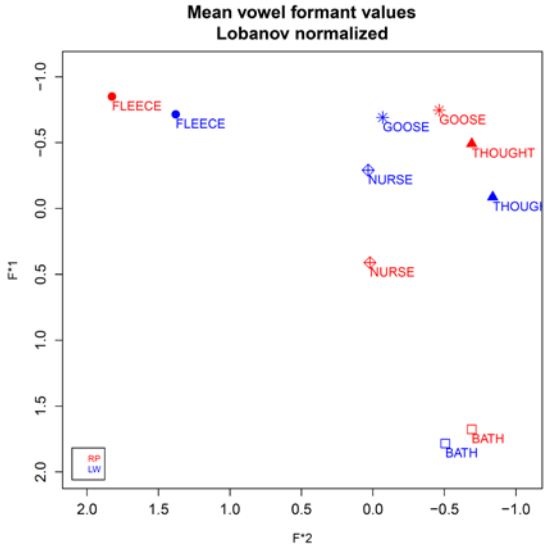
Speaker 2 (LW)

Age group: 35-39

Origins: South African, rural

Year of emigration: 1995

Figure 5.19: Long monophthongs – Speaker 2



Speaker 2 displays less fronting of GOOSE with respect to Speaker 1; however, this vowel appears to be somewhat variable. FLEECE is less fronted than in RP. NURSE is clearly more raised. There is a certain overlap of GOOSE and NURSE. BATH seems not to be as retracted as in RP. THOUGHT, which is realised with a high degree of variability, is lowered and marginally retracted.

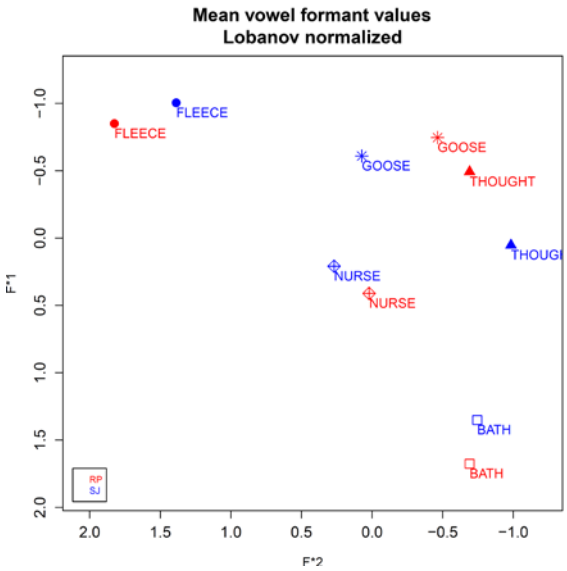
Speaker 3 (SJ)

Age group: 35-39

Origins: Afrikaners, rural

Year of emigration: 1998

Figure 5.20: Long monophthongs – Speaker 3



FLEECE is somewhat raised and GOOSE is fronted. GOOSE is highly variable. An analysis of individual tokens demonstrates that the realisation is considerably more fronted in words such as *choose* or *food* than in words like *school* or *sure*. BATH is somewhat higher and overlaps with the short vowel LOT. BATH is also highly variable. NURSE is possibly slightly fronted and THOUGHT is lowered and retracted.

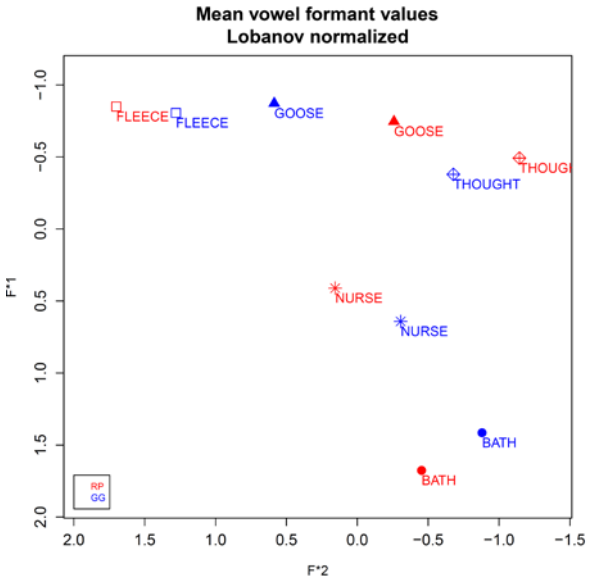
Speaker 4 (GG)

Age group: 40-45

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 2001

Figure 5.21: Long monophthongs – Speaker 4



Speaker 4 shows fronting of GOOSE. FLEECE does not appear to be as fronted as this vowel is in RP. An analysis of the individual tokens of these two long vowels confirms a significant overlap between FLEECE and GOOSE. BATH is somewhat retracted. NURSE is slightly lowered and retracted with respect to RP. Speaker 4 shows no overlap between BATH and LOT. LOT is placed clearly above BATH. THOUGHT is fronted; however, a wide range of realisations has been noted for this long monophthong. The long vowel inventory of Speaker 4 is rather variable, with GOOSE, THOUGHT and NURSE displaying the greatest variability.

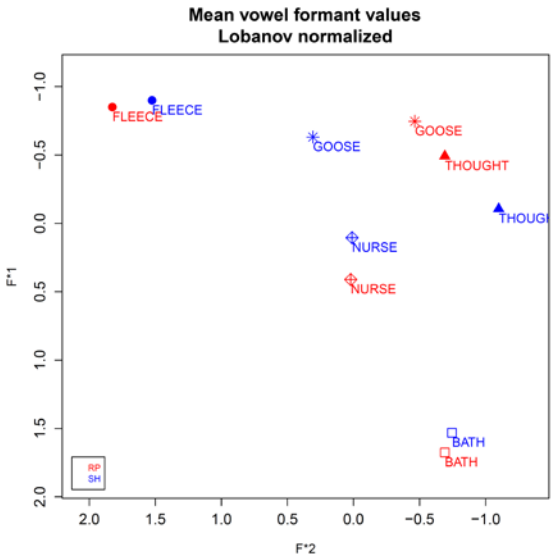
Speaker 5 (SH)

Age group: 40-45

Origins: South African, rural

Year of emigration: 2001

Figure 5.22: Long monophthongs – Speaker 5



The most significant difference in the case of speaker 5 with respect to RP is the position of GOOSE, which is clearly significantly fronted. At the same time, this vowel shows considerable variability. Further, FLEECE is not as fronted as in RP and THOUGHT is lowered and retracted. NURSE and BATH are only slightly higher than in RP. BATH, again, appears to be highly variable.

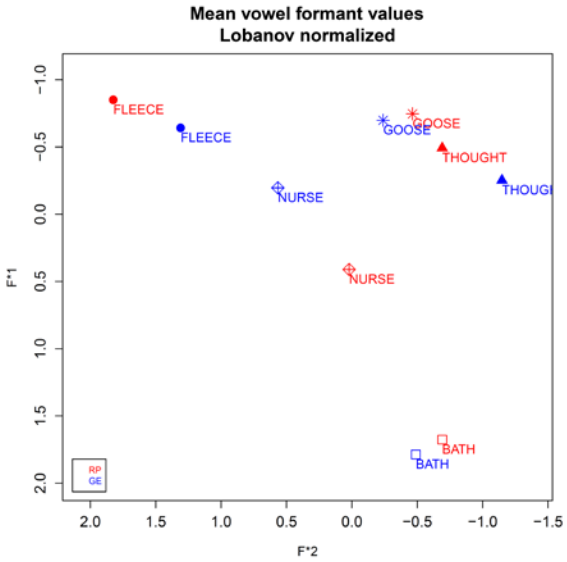
Speaker 6 (GE)

Age group: 30-34

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration 2004

Figure 5.23: Long monophthongs – Speaker 6



FLEECE is less fronted than in RP, nevertheless displays a wide range of realisations. GOOSE is only slightly fronted and shows a considerable variability. An analysis of individual GOOSE vowel tokens revealed that Speaker 6 has a more fronted realisation of GOOSE in words such as *new* or *food,* whereas it is retracted in instances preceding /l/ such as *school* or *cool*. FLEECE and GOOSE show a certain overlap. THOUGHT shows a slightly retracted and somewhat lowered realisation. BATH is somewhat lower. NURSE is fronted and higher than in RP.

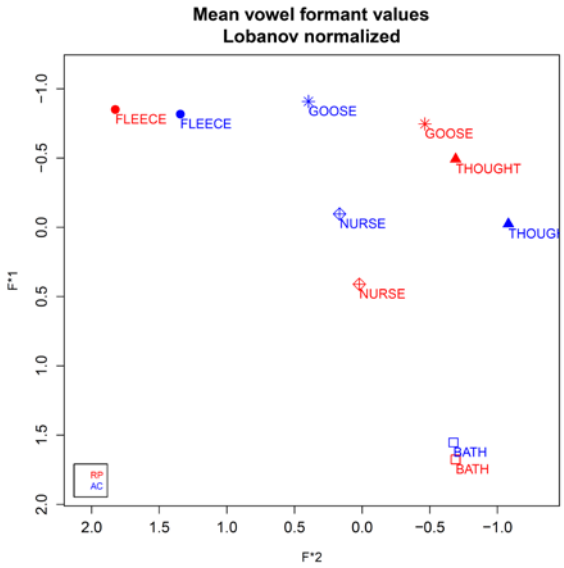
Speaker 7 (AC)

Age group: 30-34

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration 2008

Figure 5.24: Long monophthongs – Speaker 7

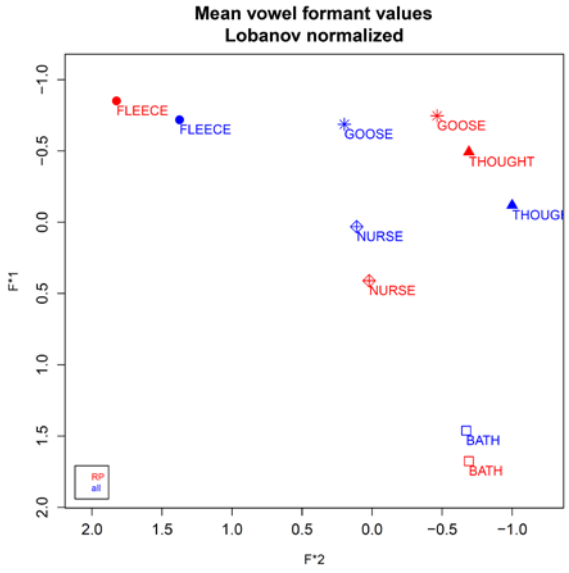


FLEECE, as is the case with other female speakers, is somewhat less fronted with respect to RP. GOOSE, on the other hand, is clearly fronted. Due to this fronting the distance between GOOSE and FLEECE is reduced. NURSE remains a rounded tense vowel, slightly raised and fronted. With respect to RP there seems to be no significant difference among the realisations of BATH, while THOUGHT is lowered and retracted.

All female speakers

A summary of long monophthongs for all the female speakers is given below. Figure 5.24 shows the long monophthong inventory based on the speaker means of the seven female speakers described above.

Figure 5.25: Long monophthongs all female speakers



FLEECE

FLEECE is not as fronted as in RP; nevertheless, it is invariably realised as a long close [iː]. Cruttenden (2001: 105) claims that in RP FLEECE is often clearly diphthongised especially in final position. In RhodE, though, there appears to be no gliding or diphthongisation; instead FLEECE is clearly monophthongal. FLEECE shows no retraction before final /l/.

GOOSE

The fronting of this vowel results in its central realisation in the region of [ʉː]. However, some speakers seem to have retracted realisation before final /l/. No tendency to diphthongise before sonorants has been noted.

NURSE

NURSE is clearly raised with respect to RP. It appears to be mostly unrounded and is realised as [ɜ̟ː]. There are several instances in the recordings when speakers produce a raised rounded vowel close to the cardinal vowel 2 [ø]; this is, however, quite rare.

THOUGHT

THOUGHT seems to be somewhat lower and retracted with respect to RP. For most female speakers this vowel is realised in the range of [ɔ̟ː]. The vowel appears to be clearly monophthongal in all environments.

BATH

The vowel BATH displays an [ɑː]-like quality. In some cases this vowel is fully back, and is occasionally weakly rounded [ɒː]. The range of realisations is not large: more fronted values occur rarely. For most of the female speakers BATH is quantitatively rather close to the short vowel LOT.

Male speakers

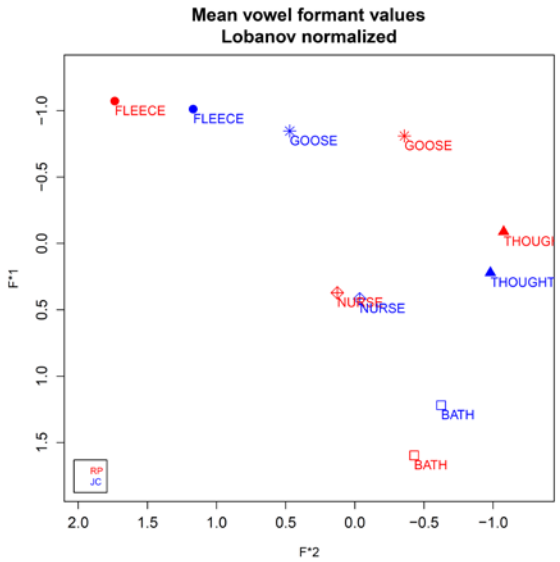
Speaker 8 (JC)

Age group: 60-64

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 2005

Figure 5.26: Long monophthongs – Speaker 8



FLEECE is not as fronted as in RP. GOOSE shows a significant degree of fronting, which means that GOOSE and FLEECE lie close to each other. THOUGHT appears to be somewhat lowered. BATH is slightly higher and NURSE is very close with respect to RP. BATH, THOUGH and NURSE are highly variable.

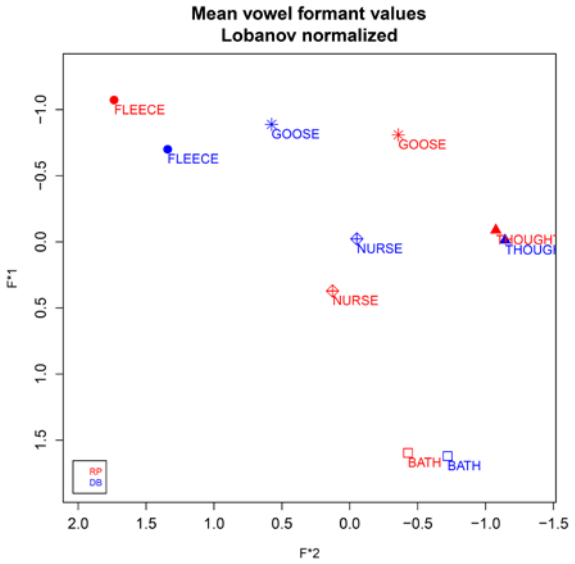
Speaker 9 (DB)

Age group: 55-59

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 2002

Figure 5.27: Long monophthongs speaker – Speaker 9



FLEECE is less raised than in RP. GOOSE is significantly fronted: it reaches beyond the central realisation, approaching [ʏ]. Some variability is present and in some instances reduced fronting has been noted. FLEECE and GOOSE encroach on each other to a certain extent. BATH displays slight backing. NURSE remains a central vowel, yet is somewhat raised. THOUGHT is almost identical with the RP realisation.

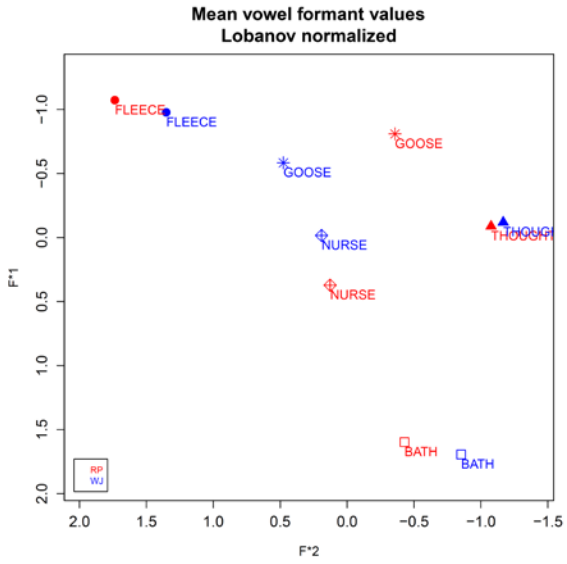
Speaker 10 (WJ)

Age group: 40-45

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 1998

Figure 5.28: Long monophthongs – Speaker 10



Speaker 10 demonstrates a very similar long monophthongs inventory with respect to Speaker 9, with the difference that FLEECE is higher than GOOSE. GOOSE appears to be lowered while NURSE is raised, which results in an overlap between GOOSE and NURSE. BATH displays a significant degree of backing. THOUGHT is close to RP. The highest degree of variability has been observed for GOOSE and BATH.

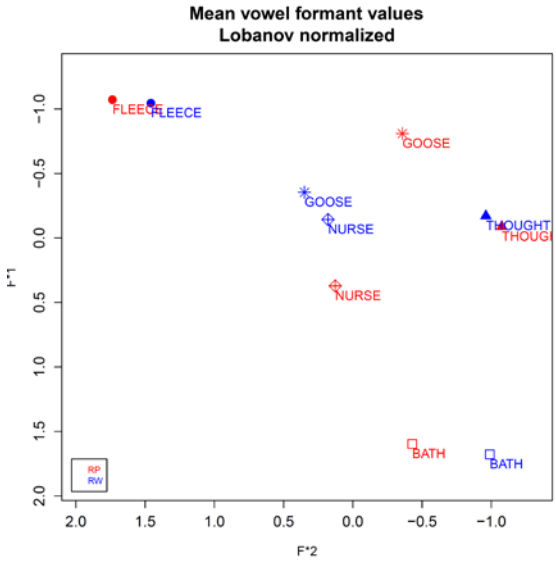
Speaker 11 (RW)

Age group: 35-39

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 1995

Figure 5.29: Long monophthongs – Speaker 11



Speaker 11 shows fronting of GOOSE. GOOSE is rather lower with respect to FLEECE. GOOSE is highly variable and the analysis of the individual tokens demonstrates that GOOSE is retracted before final /l/. Other instances (words such as *moved*) show a more fronted realisation, and in extreme cases it is very close to [ʏ] (such as in *two*). FLEECE is close to RP. NURSE is raised which, in combination with the lowering and significant fronting of GOOSE, leads to the fact that these two vowels are fairly close together. The realisation of THOUGHT is similar to that in RP.

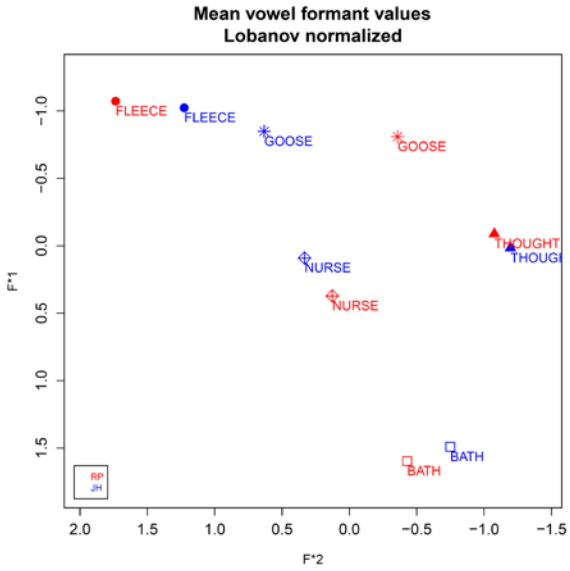
Speaker 12 (JH)

Age group: 30-34

Origins: British, urban

Year of emigration: 2005

Figure 5.30: Long monophthongs – Speaker 12

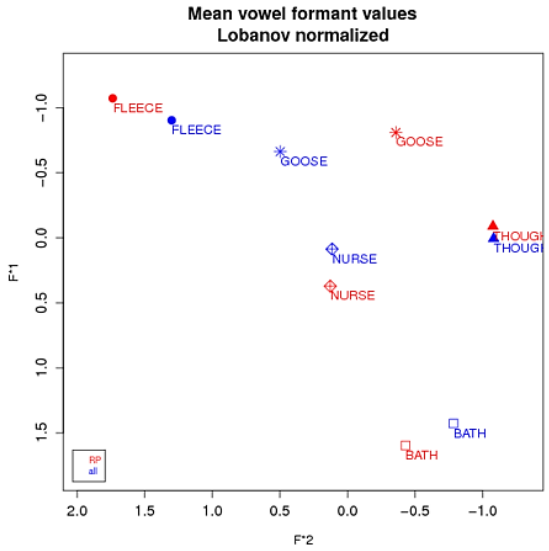


The findings for Speaker 12 are very similar to those for Speaker 8. FLEECE is less fronted than in RP. GOOSE, on the other hand, is significantly fronted. GOOSE also shows a certain degree of variability. These two vowels lie very close and there is a significant overlap. NURSE is fronted and raised. BATH is retracted with respect to RP and the realisation of THOUGHT is similar to that in RP.

All male speakers

Below follows a summary of long monophthongs for all the male speakers. Figure 5.31 shows the short monophthong inventory based on the speaker means of the five male speakers described above.

Figure 5.31: Long monophthongs all male speakers



FLEECE

FLEECE is not as fronted as in RP. It appears to be realised as a pure monophthongal vowel without gliding or diphthongisation. All male speakers show a very similar range of realisations close to [iː]. No instances of retraction before final /l/ have been noted.

GOOSE

GOOSE is fronted, in some cases to the extent that it almost approaches [ʏː]. However, the most common realisation is in the vicinity of a close central [ʉː]. GOOSE is clearly more fronted in the case of the male speakers. As was found with the female speakers, there are

instances of retracted realisation of GOOSE, especially where preceding final /l/. The more fronted the vowel, the more lip rounding appears. No tendency towards diphthongisation before sonorants has been noted.

NURSE

NURSE is slightly raised just as in the case of the female speakers. It appears to be mostly unrounded and realised as [ɜ̟ː]. Several instances when speakers produce a raised rounded vowel close to the cardinal vowel 2 [ø̞] have been noted; however, they occur only rarely.

BATH

BATH is most commonly realised in the vicinity of [ɑː]. With respect to RP it appears to be somewhat retracted and very slightly higher. BATH often overlaps with the short vowel LOT, which suggests that these two vowels are of similar quality.

THOUGHT

Unlike in the case of the female speakers, this vowel shows a very similar realisation to RP. It is mostly realised as [ɔː] and in all instances as a pure monophthong.

Figure 5.32: Long monophthongs all speakers

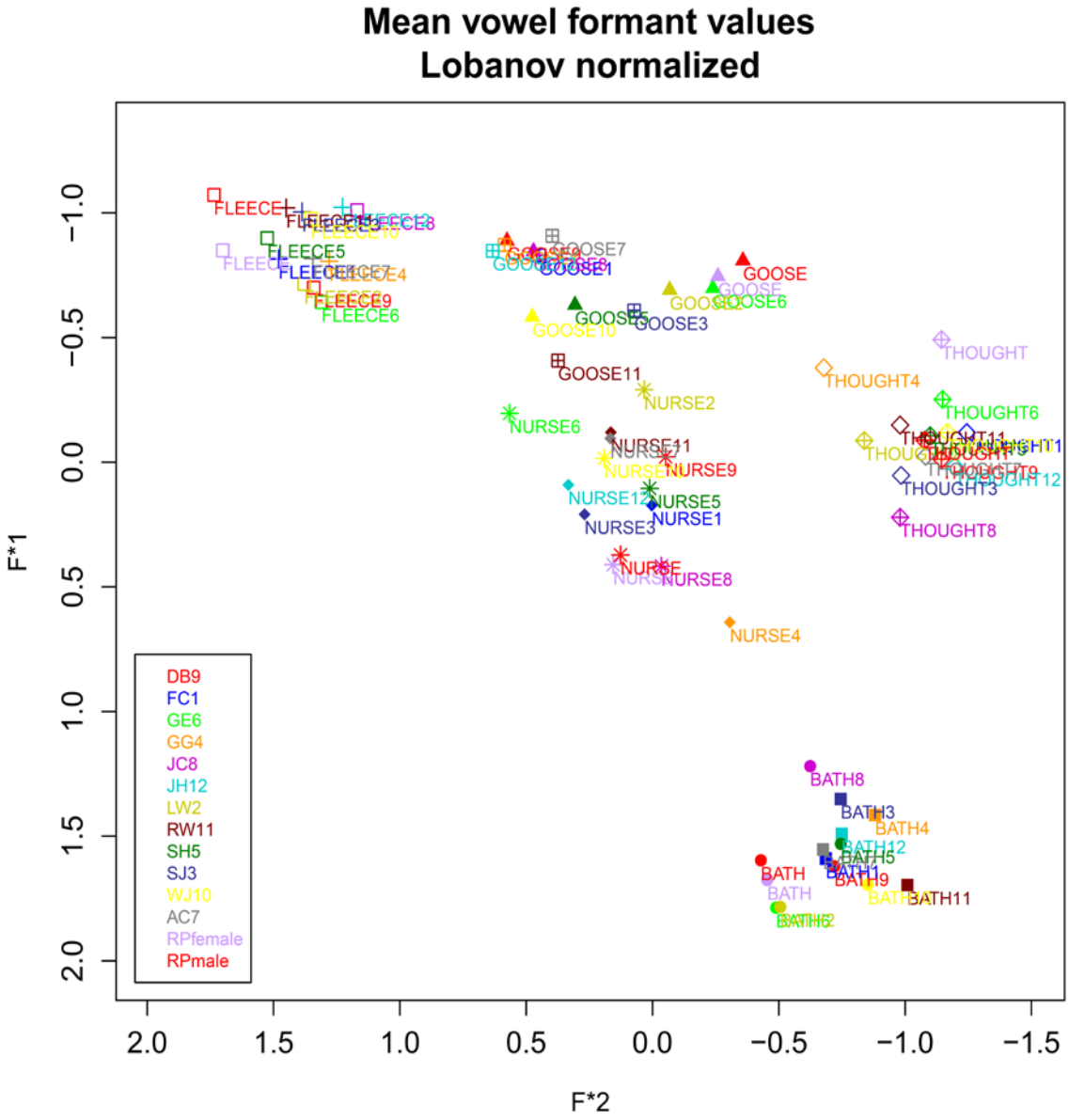


Figure 5.32 (above) highlights the differences in long vowels that are evident in the male and female vowel spaces. Taking into account the ages, genders and the lengths of residence of the speakers, the following observations were made for the long vowels:

FLEECE, BATH

With respect to the long vowels, the least variation has been noted for FLEECE and BATH. In both cases the values appear to be somewhat backer, although the differences for FLEECE seem to be minimal. As for BATH, the highest degree of backing can be noted for Speakers 4, 10 and 11. These speakers possibly show a longer length of residence, yet they belong to different age groups (although none is older than 44). On the other hand, Speakers 6 and 2 demonstrate the least degree of backing. They are both female and belong to the younger age group.

THOUGHT

A similar realisation is observed for most speakers. The exceptions appear to be Speaker 4, whose THOUGHT is higher and more fronted, and Speaker 8, who shows a lower realisation of this vowel.

GOOSE

For this vowel, more fronted values are clearly the norm for all speakers. Most fronting can be observed in the case of Speakers 1, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 12, most of whom are informants with shorter lengths of residence. Their ages vary: Speakers 1 and 9 are older than 54. In addition to fronting, a slight lowering of GOOSE has been observed for Speakers 5, 10 and 11. It is interesting to note that these speakers come from a similar age group (35-44) and also show a similar length of residence in London. In comparison, Speakers 6 and 2, both female and both from the age group 30-39, although with different lengths of residence, demonstrate the least degree of fronting.

NURSE

NURSE is clearly raised for most speakers. The only exceptions are Speakers 8 and 4, who are both older than 39. On the other hand, the highest degree of raising can be observed for Speakers 2, 6, 7 and 11, all of whom are younger than 40 and with variations in their respective lengths of residence. Also, both genders are represented.

Other features of RhodE

The recordings further reveal that RhodE in London is non-rhotic, which means that /r/ can occur only before a vowel. No instances of intrusive or linking /r/ have been noted. Similarly, *H Dropping,* the loss of word-initial /h/ in words such as *hit, hammer* or *happy,* appears to be absent from the speech of the informants. *Happy tensing*, on the other hand*,* is present in the speech of all the informants, albeit to differing degrees. The recordings further show that final /l/ tends to be rather dark, while where /l/ appears syllable initially it is rather clear, palatalised. A tendency to monophthongise both MOUTH and PRICE to [a:] has been observed. Rising intonation at the end of a statement is a variable feature among the informants and appears to be more characteristic of the speech of female speakers.

5.4. Comparative analysis

In the following section the results of the acoustic vowel analysis presented in Section 5.3 are compared with the perception RhodE data summarised in Section 2.4.1. This has been performed with a view of establishing the extent to which they vary.

According to Fitzmaurice (2010), RhodE is characterised by the raising and fronting of DRESS and TRAP and the centralised realisation of KIT. The acoustic analysis of the speech of ex-Rhodesians in London has confirmed KIT centralisation for all speakers. It appears that older female speakers show the lowest degree of centralisation. As for DRESS and TRAP, raising has been observed for both vowels. The short vowel DRESS is considerably higher for female speakers although only marginally so for male speakers. With regard to the age groups, the greatest degree of raising has been noted for speakers younger than 40. Fronting of DRESS has been observed for about one third of the speakers. In contrast, TRAP fronting appears only in the case of one male speaker. Also, the realisation of STRUT is quite similar in both sets of data. As for FOOT, the London-based speakers seem to show less rounding and more fronting, which is in line with what Fitzmaurice (2010) claims to be the norm for younger RhodE speakers. The feature is found in the London data across all age groups and

is present for both genders, although the highest degree of fronting has been observed for speakers younger than 40. Further, Fitzmaurice (2010) observes weak rounding and occasional advancement in the realisation of LOT among her informants. Some advancement has been noted for the male London RhodE speakers; women, on the other hand, show a somewhat retracted LOT vowel. For both male and female speakers the LOT vowel tends in general to be lowered.

In the context of the long monophthongs, FLEECE seems not to be as close and fronted as Fitzmaurice (2010) reports. In the case of GOOSE the findings are similar for both sets of data. Fitzmaurice (2010) observes that the vowel GOOSE displays more fronting especially among younger speakers. This feature is present in the speech of both male and female London-based informants in all age groups, although it appears that speakers with longer lengths of residence display a higher degree of fronting. Fitzmaurice (2010) did not note raising of NURSE, yet this phenomenon is clearly present in the current data. With regard to the two remaining long vowels, THOUGHT appears to be less raised than Fitzmaurice (2010) reports. In the case of the male speakers it is very close to the RP realisation, whereas in the case of the female speakers it appears somewhat lowered. The findings for BATH seem similar in both sets of data. In the current study, a more pronounced backing has been noted for the male informants.

5.5. Summary

This chapter has attempted to provide a reconstruction of the evolution of RhodE. It has discussed the socio-historical and sociolinguistic implications in the light of the framework proposed for a new dialect formation in colonial settings (Trudgill 2004; Schneider 2007). The historical and socio-demographic reconstruction suggests that the two most influential groups throughout the existence of the colony were English- and South African-origin Anglophones who provided the most important input. It was shown that the Pioneers were of little linguistic importance thus an extensive founder effect was excluded. It was further argued that the conditions for the emergence of a new variety became more favourable only after 1900 and the dialects brought by the new arrivals had a more significant effect on the

newly emerging variety. On the whole, the white population was mainly British and with respect to their social origins rather homogeneous, representing a “migratory elite” (Kennedy, 1987: 6). The impact of other languages on the formation of RhodE was, mainly due to strict segregation and the immigration policy, limited and their contribution can be seen predominantly on the lexical level. It was further argued that the extensive demographic fluctuations and the low rate of local reproduction prevented stabilisation and focussing of the variety.

Only the first two phases of the Dynamic Model (Schneider 2007), foundation and exonormative stabilisation, appear to be relevant to the case of RhodE. It was demonstrated that the sociolinguistic conditions did not favour regular contact and accommodation between the STL and IDG strands. As for the new-dialect formation model (Trudgill 2004), it appears to have limited applicability mainly because the conditions outlined in Stages 2 and 3 were not met in colonial Rhodesia. Further, an outline of the white Rhodesian community in London was offered. It was suggested that a unified white ex-Rhodesian community in London does not exist. The ex-Rhodesians appear to be dispersed all over the city and the diasporic community does not seem to maintain strong social ties. Rather, a tendency to become integrated into the host country’s community was observed.

The chapter further presented the results of the acoustic phonetic analysis of the vowel system of RhodE in London, with the aim of providing a description of this sub-variety. The results have shown the existence of significant differences in the vowel target positions both in the speech of individual speakers and among the speakers. This intra- and inter-individual variability was noted especially in the realisation of short monophthongs. Secondly, the results of the vocalic analysis were compared to the results of RhodE data obtained from perception analysis (Fitzmaurice 2010). The comparison confirmed that the most salient features of this variety are, to a certain degree, present in the speech of the ex-Rhodesians in London.

6. Conclusion

This section summarises and assesses the general findings and draws conclusions with respect to the research questions presented in Section 1.2. Further, it outlines the limitations of the study and identifies areas for further research.

It has been demonstrated that the development of a new variety in contact situation depends on many factors. Since the sociolinguistic and demographic factors differ in each setting, the linguistic outcomes are different. The first research question set out to investigate the origins and evolution of RhodE. It has been shown that RhodE emerged as a result of the second diaspora and is a relatively late addition to the Southern Hemisphere postcolonial Englishes. In the African context, the situation in Rhodesia closely resembles that in Kenya. Both colonies were settled at the same time and the input dialects to both varieties were similar. RhodE is a result of early twentieth-century colonisation, which brought, in numerical terms, relatively small groups of native speakers to Africa. Although it was envisaged for Rhodesia to be settled by large numbers of white immigrants, European settlers seemed to prefer to immigrate into other parts of the world. This may partially be explained by the fact that Rhodesia was settled rather late and under different circumstances than, for instance, was South Africa. A further factor was undoubtedly the implementation of the strict immigration policy hindering large-scale immigration and preventing the colony from obtaining significant numbers of white settlers.

Rhodesia qualifies simultaneously as a case of an ENL/ESL, or according to Kachru's (1985) classification, an Inner- and Outer-Circle country. The white Rhodesian settlement represents a *tabula rasa* situation since there was no antecedent English speaking population in the territory that could have influenced the emerging variety prior to the arrival of the Pioneers. As in other African settler colonies where English was spoken as the L1, the white population in Rhodesia was in the minority and it almost completely disappeared following Independence in 1980. Despite its small size, the white community in Rhodesia became politically, economically and culturally dominant. Rhodesia did not have a numerically strong STL strand thus it would, according to Schneider's (2007: 65-66) classification, not qualify as a settler colony. Considering that the whites constituted only 5

per cent of the entire population, the situation appears to resemble more closely that found in exploitation colonies. It may be argued that Rhodesia started its life as an exploitation colony, because the main motivation of the Pioneers was to profit from prospecting. This is confirmed by the fact that the majority left Rhodesia once it became evident that the territory offers fewer natural resources than South Africa. The white settlers had no interest in spreading the English language and culture; rather, their aim was to benefit from the economic potential of the territory, as is typical in exploitation colonies. Schneider (2007: 65-66) suggests that in circumstances where English is deliberately withheld from the indigenous population, the first two phases of the Dynamic Model are likely to be prolonged: this seems indeed to be the case in Rhodesia. Further, the settlers' strong attachment to Britain and their desire to remain English may have slowed down the formation of a local variety of English.

The analysis of the socio-historical conditions showed that during the first decade of settlement the white community was highly variable, characterised by considerable population fluctuations and the lack of internal reproduction. The sociolinguistic setting and contact conditions in the first ten years were thus unfavourable for the formation of a new English variety. The nature of RhodE is, therefore, determined by the later immigrants rather than by the original input represented by the Pioneers. It may be concluded that although the Pioneer Column arrived in 1890, the onset of the formation process must have come later. This appears to have two main implications for the formation process. Firstly, a more stable settler colony began to form only after 1900 and the roots of RhodE can thus be traced to the beginning of the twentieth century. Secondly, any significant impact of the founder effect on the formation of RhodE can be ruled out. The situation in Rhodesia would thus confirm Sudbury's (2004: 405) claim that the founder effect might be relevant only in stable environments and in larger-scale dialect contact situations.

The question as to specifying which varieties constituted the most important input into the feature pool cannot be answered unequivocally. This is because some of the crucial information is sporadic or completely missing. Even if reports give the places of birth of the settlers, closer geographical specifications are often missing. However, it is known that great numbers of British-born settlers came *via* South Africa and may therefore have already modified their speech during that transitional period. Nevertheless, geographically speaking,

South African and English English varieties constituted the most important input. Extensive bilingualism and learner varieties of English, on the other hand, had virtually no linguistic impact during the formative period of RhodE.

It has been demonstrated that besides the geographical input, the social stratification of the community is highly relevant. On the social level we observe a higher degree of homogeneity with respect to the white settler communities in the major Southern Hemisphere colonies. Dissimilarly, for instance, to the situation in Australia, where most of the work was done by the whites, labour in Rhodesia was divided along racial lines. Unskilled and some semi-skilled professions were filled by the indigenous population, thus there was no economic need for low-class settlers. Further, while in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the majority of emigrants left the British Isles for economic purposes, towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries emigrants were recruited mainly from the middle- and upper-class backgrounds. In general, they emigrated because their social status had been altered as a result of changes that took place in Britain around that time, or because they possessed a certain level of education or skills in demand in the developing colonies. Finally, low-class immigrants were excluded from settling in Rhodesia according to requirements introduced by the local authorities: each immigrant needed to be in possession of a given minimum amount of financial capital.

It may be further concluded that white immigration formed the major cornerstone of the colony and migration in general played a crucial role in the population dynamics throughout colonial rule. The yearly population turnover was considerably high and perhaps unmatched in other settler colonies. The locally-born whites accounted for approximately only one third of the white community. On the linguistic level, the fact that the population was in a state of constant flux must have meant that the language ecology and the feature pool were subject to constant changes, with different waves of settlers each leaving different language legacies. The transience of the population is likely to have slowed down the processes that lead to focussing. In general, in such an ever-changing environment it becomes problematic for norms to develop and for focussing to occur. Prime Minister Huggins compared the European population in Rhodesia to “an island in the sea of black with the artisans and tradesmen forming the shores and the professional classes the

highlands in the centre" (quoted in Norman, 2004: 40). Nevertheless, Brownell (2008: 610) seems to summarise the nature of colonial Rhodesia more accurately when he suggests that:

> White Rhodesia is perhaps best thought of, not as a firm island, but as a floating mat of thick vegetation, which in calmer waters might have appeared to have been a grounded land mass, yet during stormier weather it loosened and broke apart rather easily, with some pieces drifting off to distant shores, and others attaching together, as the last desperate clumps floating in the choppy African seas.

Of key importance in the formation of RhodE was clearly koinéisation, which included a re-analysis of regional dialects and different sociolects spoken by the Anglophone settlers and their descendants. Contact with other languages was negligible and the linguistic effects are correspondingly small. The influence of Afrikaans and of the local languages is evident predominantly on the lexical level. The exonormative British model appears to have been of a significant importance; however, the existence of independent developments has to be taken into account. The development of RhodE is obviously unique, given the demography and dialect contact situation. In sum, the shape of RhodE is a result of complex historical and linguistic processes, although it is not always possible to establish exactly which linguistic mechanisms were involved in its formation. The constantly changing socio-demographic conditions make it more problematic to analyse the sociolinguistic situation. A number of different linguistic processes can be identified, yet their roles and strength can only roughly be assessed.

Further, the first research question was concerned with the applicability of the models discussed to the RhodE context. Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model appears to be flexible; it allows for adjustments of the phases according to the types of colonies as well as for differences in external history and setting. Applied to the Rhodesian case it demonstrates that RhodE progressed through two phases: foundation, and exonormative stabilisation. For the variety to progress through nativisation, "widespread and regular contacts" (Schneider, 2007: 56) between the two strands are required in order for accommodation to take place. The strict segregation, however, hindered large-scale social contact between the STL and IDG strands. The next parameter for nativisation to take place is that the settlers perceive the new territory as their permanent home (Schneider 2007). Taking into account statistics

regarding the high rates of both immigration and emigration, the extent to which this circumstance applied is questionable. In sum, nativisation failed to occur because the differences between the STL and IDG strands were never reduced to a "sociolinguistic distinction" (Schneider, 2007: 45). The socio-political changes brought about by Independence led to white emigration and the fragmentation of the STL strand, which consequently resulted in the interruption of the formation process. Since the Dynamic Model stresses the transition from exonormative to endonormative orientation, a transition RhodE did not undergo, its applicability is limited. Nevertheless, Rhodesia confirms Schneider's (2007) assumption that the developments outlined in the Dynamic Model can change or be interrupted at any stage. At the same time, Rhodesian Independence may be considered as "Event X" which brought the remaining STL strand closer to the IDG strand and triggered the process of identity revision. As a result, it is highly likely that the nativisation of WhZimE, which has roots in RhodE, is continuing in post-colonial Zimbabwe. The extent it achieves will, however, depend mainly on the sociolinguistic contact situation between the STL and IDG strands.

As for the new-dialect formation model (Trudgill 2004), the claim is that it applies automatically to *tabula rasa* situations in colonial environments. This condition was met, as Rhodesia clearly constituted a *tabula rasa* context for dialect mixing. Since Trudgill's model pays close attention to dialect contact and to the distribution of variants in the input varieties, it appears to be highly relevant to the Rhodesian situation. Nevertheless, the applicability seems to be limited. One of the reasons is the lack of consideration given by the model to social factors. Further, it assumes a certain demographic stability after the initial settlement as well as a reasonable population growth by natural increase: conditions not met in Rhodesia. Since the population was continuously in a state of flux it is problematic to imagine that the circumstances outlined in Stage 2 of Trudgill's (2004) model existed in settlements in early Rhodesia. Trudgill (2004) also assumes that the children at Stage 3 typically live in a relatively stable social environment and are exposed to a more restricted set of variants which enables them to produce a crystallised variety. It has been argued that the socio-historical conditions were unfavourable for this scenario to occur. Finally, the considerable immigration throughout the history of colonial Rhodesia would mean that the three different stages outlined in the model must have co-existed, at least in the main urban

centres where the population turnover was significantly high. Therefore, it seems that in the case of RhodE we are faced with a somewhat non-standard scenario involving a high degree of population turnover and mobility. The situation in Rhodesia confirms that the development of any new variety is always unique since the external factors will vary, often considerably. Attention needs to be paid to the input dialects, however, for a complete understating of the formation process, the community's social conditions need to be considered carefully.

As for the results of the acoustic analysis and the vowel inventory of RhodE in London, it may be concluded that this variety displays a considerable influence of the exonormative British norm, mainly ascribable to the limited influence of the IDG strand. Although RhodE developed some local features, standard British English was perceived as the prestige model. RhodE clearly evolved without major structural influence from other languages. Further, the vowel system bears a close resemblance to that of WSAfE, and some of the RhodE morphosyntactic features also seem to have counterparts in WSAfE. The reason for this similarity lies undoubtedly in the fact that South Africa was a large source of migrants into Rhodesia. Not only did it provide South African-born settlers, but also many British-origin settlers came to Rhodesia *via* South Africa, to where they had previously migrated. South Africa clearly has a longer colonial history and, with respect to Rhodesia, shows greater fragmentation within the white population, yet some shared aspects of the linguistic evolution can be observed between these two countries. Finally, the close relationship that lasted throughout colonial rule, and even during the UDI, must have been an important contributing factor. Nevertheless, the input into RhodE is likely to have been more homogeneous, including more standard features, and with less influence from Afrikaans and other languages compared to WSAfE. Also, due to the significant British immigration in the post-World War II period, it may be assumed that RhodE was influenced by features of mid-twentieth-century British English brought in by these newcomers. Further, the comparison with the impressionistic data provided by Fitzmaurice (2010) has shown that the most salient features of the variety are present in both sets of data.

The results of the acoustic analysis suggest that there is a considerable degree of heterogeneity. The vowel inventories of individual speakers demonstrate significant intra- as well as inter-individual variability. The differences may arise due to a number of different

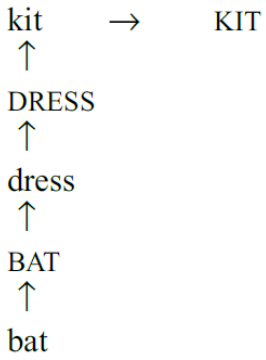
factors. Most importantly, given the evolution of RhodE, it is likely that the variety is overall relatively unfocused. In the case of RhodE the lack of focussing cannot be assigned to significant differences between the input dialects. Rather, it is due to the continuous population movements, which negatively affected the formation and importance of a distinct Rhodesian identity. The variability may be also explained in relation to the age of the informants. With regard to KIT, more centralisation has been observed for younger speakers while, in contrast, the smallest degree of centralisation appears to be connected with older speakers. As for FOOT, it would appear that least fronting of this vowel is the norm for older speakers, while the highest degree of fronting has been noted for younger speakers. With respect to DRESS, younger speakers demonstrate a higher degree of raising compared to older speakers. The varieties spoken by ex-Rhodesians of British background are likely to show a stronger influence from standard British English than from the varieties spoken by South African- or Afrikaans-origin speakers. In addition, it is likely that differences will appear according to the place of residence, i.e., between urban and rural areas. Finally, the differences among individual speakers could be also assigned to the different sociolects (Cultivated, General and Broad) spoken in the territory of today's Zimbabwe. Nevertheless, given the background of the informants, it may fairly safely be assumed that they are likely to be speakers of the General varieties.

Additional differences may be due to the language changes in the diaspora. Although the study deals with adults who are considered past the optimum age for D2 acquisition, given that the length of residence in London is longer than two years for all the informants, a certain degree of accommodation can be expected. The different contact circumstances in the diasporic setting, as well as the varying lengths of residence, have implications for either integration with or independence from the mainstream, and may manifest in the amount of accommodation that takes place in individual cases. It has been found that all of the informants have a sufficient amount of social interaction with speakers of the D2. The social networks of the London-based ex-Rhodesians can be described as open uniplex or "integrated" networks (Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985: 116). The ex-Rhodesians are involved in contacts with a wide range of people who do not belong to the immigrant community. In addition, ties with the homeland appear rather weak. Further, although the attitudes of the D1 speakers towards the D2-speaking community were not explicitly studied, the integrative

motivation of the D1 speakers seems quite strong. The informants repeatedly mentioned that they wished to become integrated into the new community. Based on the above, it can reasonably be expected that the acquisition of the D2 would be promoted. A close investigation of the speech of London-based Rhodesians did not, though, uncover the presence of a regular pattern with respect to the areas outlined above. The factor that appears to be most influential with respect to individual variation is the age of the informants.

The lack of homogeneity makes it somewhat difficult to provide a comprehensive picture of the variety. RhodE in London displays the same phonemic system as other Southern Hemisphere Englishes. Nevertheless, certain distinctive phonetic features have been identified. The most salient features of the variety are the presence of close short front vowels and centralised KIT vowel. Centralised KIT is found also in WSAfE, yet in allophonic distribution. It means that [ɪ] appears initially (*it*), after /h/ (*hit*), in velar environments (*sick, gift, big, kill*), and often before palato-alveolars /ʃ/, /ʒ/ (*fish, vision*), while [ɪ̈] occurs in most other environments. The presence of close short front vowels is a feature shared with other major Southern Hemisphere varieties, and it can be explained by the so-called chain-shift (Bauer 1979; 1992). A raised TRAP vowel is said to have been brought to the Southern Hemisphere in the input varieties spoken by the British settlers and can thus be regarded as a relic of the British input. This claim is supported by linguistic evidence from the ONZE project, which confirms the presence of the close TRAP pronunciation in the speech of the first and second New Zealand-born generations (Trudgill, 2004: 43). It is further believed that in the overseas locations the TRAP vowel continued to raise even further to the point where it encroached on the linguistic space of DRESS, which, in turn, encroached on KIT. In WSAfE this development resulted in the movement of the short front vowels "'one up' for the lower two heights, and 'one back' for the highest" (Lass & Wright, 1986: 138). The result of this development is that the front vowels in WSAfE "are raised in comparison with RP vowels (with the highest vowel being centralised)" (Mesthrie, 1993: 30).

Figure 6.1: The South African English front vowel chain-shift



Source: Bowerman (2004: 174)

There is certain disagreement as to whether this feature is an innovation or whether it represents conservative pronunciation. Bauer (1979; 1992) and Lass and Wright (1985) argue in favour of the former scenario and claim that it is an innovation that took place in the Southern Hemisphere Englishes. Trudgill (1986; 2004), on the other hand, suggests that the close realisations of /æ/ and /ɛ/ were present in nineteenth-century British English and this is therefore a feature which was retained; as such it represents conservative pronunciation. He argues that in English English, the process of lowering has occurred and has led to a more open pronunciation of the short front vowels, causing the following changes: [e > ɛ] and [ɛ > æ] (Trudgill, 2004: 42). This claim is also supported by Branford (1994: 474-480), who argues that the raised short front vowels and centralised KIT in WSAfE are inherited from the early nineteenth-century English and were brought by the first wave of British-origin settlers to the Cape. Therefore, the conservative nature of the Southern Hemisphere Englishes appears to reflect the notion of the colonial lag proposed by Trudgill (2004).

The FOOT vowel is clearly distinct from the STRUT vowel, which means that RhodE has six short vowels as do WSAfE and the major English varieties around the world. FOOT in RhodE, however, shows considerable fronting, which sets this variety apart from WSAfE where the back centralised vowel [ʊ] is the norm (Bowerman, 2008: 170). Fronting appears also in the realisation of the long vowel GOOSE. This feature is found in other Southern Hemisphere Englishes, and in the case of RhodE its presence can be possibly assigned to the WSAfE influence. Another distinctive feature shared by RhodE in London with WSAfE is the

relatively back realisation of the BATH vowel. As in Cultivated WSAfE, in RhodE the vowel is not always realised as a fully back [ɑ:]. The results from my informants show a considerable variability in this respect. BATH backing is absent from most Southern Hemisphere Englishes, with the exception of WSAfE and Tristan da Cunha English; modern AusE and NZE have a fronted [a:] in BATH. Therefore, it is unlikely to be a result of influence from the south-east of England. Trudgill (2004: 63) argues that this feature could have been brought to South Africa by the late nineteenth-century RP speakers who settled Natal. It may, however, likewise be a later independent innovation that occurred in WSAfE, given that Falklands Island English, which most likely developed later than WSAfE, lacks this feature (Trudgill, 2004: 63). Bekker (2009: 312) suggests that prestige could be the reason why fronted variants are absent from WSAfE although they must have been present in the input, arguing that the back [ɑ:] was more prestigious in the early WSAfE and therefore won over the fronted [a:]. It may, therefore, be assumed that the back [ɑ:] could have been brought to Rhodesia either directly from Britain or indirectly *via* South Africa. Another feature shared between RhodE and other Southern Hemisphere Englishes is non-rhoticity, although the Southland/Otago area in New Zealand is rhotic (Bauer & Bauer, 2002: 170). In addition, Lass and Wright (1986: 205) suggest that "variable rhoticity increases with descent down the socioeconomic scale".

It has been suggested that we cannot speak about a unified white ex-Rhodesian community in London. The profiling of the white Rhodesians in London has shown that migration cannot be ascribed to one single reason: the reasons for their resettlement to the United Kingdom are often multiple and complex. The choice to emigrate to London was influenced by a number of factors, the most important of which were the existence of family networks, the right to an ancestor visa or occupational concerns. Although members of younger generations are present in London, the assumption is that the United Kingdom is a more popular destination among older ex-Rhodesians. A certain level of interconnectedness between the migrants' lives with those who remained in Zimbabwe exists. Some migrants harbour thoughts of returning home, yet the majority see their settlement in the United Kingdom as permanent. The respondents have confirmed that the aim of the ex-Rhodesians is to become integrated into the community of the host country. The migrants do not deliberately choose to settle in the same areas and the social networks among ex-

Rhodesians appear to be weak. Instead of forming a distinct diaspora group they are slowly merging into the host society, which has implications for the future of RhodE spoken in London. The variety is rapidly receding as children of the white emigrants born in London typically acquire the local vernacular.

The discussion in this thesis is based on the results from a small-scale study, a factor that can be considered as the main limitation. Due to the small size of the corpus, this study does not allow for broad generalisations, yet it hopes to provide a first investigation of the vowel system of RhodE in London spoken by the ex-Rhodesians who emigrated after Independence. Nevertheless, despite the small data sample, it is hoped that this thesis has offered some interesting insights into the range of the vowel realisations. Further, there is the issue of representativeness of the data investigated in this study. Although the sample contains speakers of both genders, different ages and various backgrounds; all have secondary-level education and therefore come from the upper end of the socio-economic scale. Subsequently, their accents do not cover the whole spectrum of RhodE. As for the examination of the origins and evolution of RhodE, given the relatively recent settlement of Rhodesia, a great deal of information about the colony is recorded. The relevant information is, however, often contradictory, incomplete or entirely lacking. Another complication lies in trying to access Zimbabwe-based databases, as communication with the Zimbabwean authorities has proven difficult. Finally, there is also the question of the comparability of the current instrumentally derived RhodE data with the existing impressionistic data, given that Fitzmaurice (2010) provides no detailed information about the methodology she applied for her study.

The current study should be viewed as exploratory. Additional research is necessary in order to obtain a more comprehensive view. Further data must be collected and a more in-depth study of the London ex-Rhodesian community conducted. Also, further research could investigate the effects of migration on sociolinguistic aspects, as well as possible accommodation to British English. Furthermore, future studies may want to investigate the migrant communities in other countries with considerable concentrations of white Rhodesians/Zimbabweans, such as South Africa, Australia, or New Zealand.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal information

Name	**Lenka Ulzega, M.A.**
Birth place/date	Czech Republic, 17. May 1976
Place of residence	Dübendorf (ZH), Switzerland

Professional history

2012-present	Senior Lecturer in Business English University of Applied sciences (ZHAW), Winterthur, Switzerland
2008-2011	English teacher Ecole Lemania, Lausanne, Switzerland Ecole-bilingue (EBSR), Lausanne, Switzerland Wessex Academy, Language school, Lausanne, Switzerland
2006-2008	Head of English section and English teacher LeVl Languages, Language school, Prague, Czech Republic
2005-2010	Translator, interpreter
2003-2005	Manager of English section and English teacher Polyglot, Language school, Prague, Czech Republic
2003-2005 **Part time**	Tourist guide, Prague, Czech Republic
1999-2003 **parallel to** **MA degree**	English teacher Klubschule Migros, Bern, Switzerland Executive assistant IMPAC, Consulting company, Fribourg, Switzerland

Education

2010-2015	PhD studies in English Linguistics, University of Zurich, Switzerland Thesis title: Rhodesian English in London
2009	CELTA University of Cambridge Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults
1998-2003	MA studies in English Linguistics, University of Fribourg, Switzerland Main branch: English Linguistics Secondary branches: English and American Literature, : Russian Language and Literature
1996-1998	ICR, Institute of Tourist Trade, Prague, Czech Republic License for tourist guides